CAITANYA
HIS LIFE AND DOCTRINE
BY
A.K.MAJUMDAR

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A Study in Vaiṣṇavism

A. K. MAJUMDAR



1969
BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN
CHOWPATTY : BOMBAY

Rs. 25/-

PRINTED IN INDIA
BY P. H. RAMAN
AT ASSOCIATED ADVERTISERS AND PRINTERS,
505, TARDEO ARTHUR ROAD,
BOMBAY 34

AND

PUBLISHED BY
S. RAMAKRISHNAN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN,
BOMBAY 7

PREFACE

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has published several monographs on the lives of saints including an abridged version of *Śrī Gaurāṅga* by Mahātmā Śiśir Kumār Ghoṣ; still it was felt desirable to publish a complete biography of Śrī-Caitanya including the basic tenets of his school. As it involves a fair knowledge of Bengali, I was entrusted with the task of writing the present volume.

* * * *

The life of a religious teacher cannot be explained without discussing the ideals he stood for, and this leads to a discussion of the doctrine preached by him, and his immediate followers. Similarly, it sometimes becomes necessary, as in the present instance, to describe the historical background of the movement.

In the first few chapters, therefore, certain problems are discussed with which apparently Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism or its founder are not directly concerned. For example Chapter II analyses the Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata*, partly because this has not been done since the publication of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's famous work, and also due to the fact that Pañcarātra has played a decisive role in the development of Vaiṣṇavism and it is necessary to trace its historical origin, which unfortunately cannot be ascertained with any degree of precision; hence an attempt has been made to show that reliance on the Nārāyaṇīya section will not be helpful in solving the problem. The tentative conclusion possible at present is that Pañcarātra is a non-Vedic religion but we do not know under what circumstances nor at what period it originated. For, even if the present available Pañcarātra texts could be dated, that would by no means fix the date of its origin, which must be much earlier than the earliest text, on the hypothesis that a text follows the establishment of a religion, and not a religion that of a text. Secondly, though we have recorded Dr. Schrader's opinion as to the date of the Pañcarātra texts (p. 26) the mention of Pañcarātra in the Kambuja inscriptions noted below (p. 28) indicates the possibility of Pañcarātra tenets having been systematized in texts at an even earlier period.

The relation between early Pañcarātra and Bhāgavatism is also unclear. From Yāmuna onwards there is historical evidence of their inter-relationship, but as Dr. S. N. Das Gupta has shown Pañcarātra was at one time beyond the pale of Hindu society which

has been noted below (p. 26). Here again we do not know the date of the texts which vilify Pañcarātra, hence it is not possible to establish the date when it became respectable nor under what circumstances. The evidence of the Nārāyaṇīya Section is highly suspicious, and it would be risky to rely upon it to determine the age at which Pañcarātra was admitted to the orthodox fold. It seems most probable that Pañcarātra became an integral part of Hinduism, when image worship came to replace the Vedic sacrifices.

Bhāgavatism, however, from the beginning was based on the Vedas, though some of the doctrines which were preached in its principal texts, namely the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, are not to be found in the Vedas. Enough has been said on these two texts, and many attempts have been made to determine their age, hence I need not add to the confusion by another dissertation here. Nor is such a discussion strictly relevant in the present context, for, in order to understand Vaiṣṇavism it is necessary to take into account the firm belief of the *vaiṣṇavas* that the *Gītā* is an integral part of the epic, and Vyāsa wrote the *Purāṇas*.

In the absence of adequate evidence it is almost certain that Indian history can never be retold in the same manner as European history, and in this connection Rabindranath Tagore's observation seemed to be so appropriate that I have translated a passage from one of his essays on this subject (pp. 103-04). The subject matter of Indian history is Indian people, and their faiths and aspirations have some claim to be recorded as history. Hence, because the *vaiṣṇavas* worship Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata* and not of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, it was necessary to discuss Dr. H. C. Ray Chowdhury's theory that Kṛṣṇa of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* was identical with Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata*, in order to show that this identification is not tenable.

* * * *

Attempt has been made in the following pages to describe what the Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavas believe and not to discover what they should believe. The biography of Caitanya as presented here is, therefore, based upon the two works which the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* accept as authoritative, namely the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* of Vṛndāvan-dās and *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj. After working with these two texts for sometime, I am convinced that their value as works of history is very high, which was implied in the translation of the latter by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the greatest of our historians. This will also be apparent from the discussion in the appendices

where it will be seen that most of the criticisms levelled against Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj are without foundation.

The other charge against him and other biographers of Caitanya is that they have recorded miracles, but the fact is that no religious text is free of such incidents. The modern attitude is epitomized in the words of Bernard Shaw who once said: 'There is nothing that people will not believe nowadays if only it be presented to them as science, and nothing they will not disbelieve if it be presented to them as religion. I myself began like that; and I am ending by receiving every scientific statement with dour suspicion whilst giving very respectful consideration to the inspirations and revelations of the prophets and poets." For such people the miraculous happenings in Śrī-Caitanya's life may be meaningful, and have been recorded in the following pages.

This method, it may be objected, does not lead to the production of a 'scientific history'. I have given below (pp. 101-02) a sample from a scientific history, where the author has brushed aside all evidence on 'scientific principle', and advanced conclusions based entirely on his imagination. One wonders what would have happened to a real scientist had he observed this particular method; that is, if he had rejected all the data yielded by laboratory tests, and arrived at a conclusion to satisfy his fancy. Hence it seems preferable to follow the evidence, even if it cannot be corroborated, rather than lose the thread of narrative in purposeless arguments as to its possibility or rather impossibility. In matters pertaining to religious history, it is better to be grouped amongst the credulous than be ranked with the virtuosi of philistinism. There are undoubtedly differences amongst Śrī-Caitanya's biographers as has been shown below (pp. 98-9) regarding minor incidents in his life. It is now too late to find out the true version; hence it is better to accept any one of them. Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj's version has been accepted in the present work because it is the best and the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* believe that his work is the authoritative one.

* * * *

As stated above, the life of a religious leader can become meaningful only if it is presented along with his doctrine, which, in the present case, also includes metaphysics. An historian of philosophy must know philosophy in the substantive sense before he can address correct questions to their sources and extract philosophical problems from the texts in order to study the mutual relation and consequences of those problems in the context of epochs and culture.

The task of a biographer, however, is more limited, and is discharged when he has been able to point out the main contribution of his subject to the developing process of thought. But evaluation is more difficult, for in an historical evaluation attempt is made to facilitate the understanding, and attention is diverted to the explanation and the interpretation of the metaphysical views; while in a philosophical assessment, attention is focussed on what brings us nearer to truth. The former may be called the modern historical method, the latter being our traditional method, but since it implies some practical cognition, I had of necessity to adopt the historical method.

* * * *

While writing this preface, I came across T. S. Eliot's *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* where he states in the introduction:

> 'The first important assertion is that no culture has appeared or developed except together with a religion: according to the point of view of the observer, the culture will appear to be the product of the religion, or the religion the product of the culture.'

Mr. Eliot's assertion seems to be particularly valid for understanding the development—as well as the decay—of Indian culture, which have been proportional to its loyalty to philosophy, conceived on the basis of a religion which led to the contemplation of a truly existing reality.

The complexity of Indian culture is due, not only to variations depending on her vast area and long history, but also to the stratification, or what may be called, the staggering of culture at the same place and time. This has been possible because of the universal approach of the religious creeds, and it is most striking in the doctrine preached by Caitanya. Though his followers are mainly confined in Assam, Bengal and Orissa, his influence pervaded the entire sub-continent, and the emotional upsurge which this country witnessed in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries may be traced to him. Even today he is a living force.

To appreciate Caitanya's greatness, it is necessary to remember that the age in which he lived and the society in which he moved were neither glorious nor progressive, but he triumphed over apparently insuperable difficulties. The state of pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism has been briefly described below in Chapters IV and V. There was, however, a type of Vaiṣṇavism which was frowned upon by the intellectuals before the advent of Caitanya. Gaṁgeśa Upā-

dhyāya (c. 1200) wrote in his *Tattvacintāmaṇi*: *'tasmād avivekinaḥ sukha-mātra-lipsavo bahutara-duḥkh-ānuviddham api sukham uddiśya "śiro madīyaṁ yadi yātu yātv"=iti kṛtvā para-dārādiṣu pravartamānā "varaṁ Vṛndāvane ramye" ity=ādi vadanto n=ātr=ādhikāriṇaḥ'.*[1]

The two verses referred to by the father of Navyanyāya are the following:

> *yuṣmat kṛte khañjana-mañjulākṣi śiro madīyaṁ yadi yātu yātu*
> *lūnāni nūnaṁ Janak-ātmaj-ārthe Daśānanen=āpi daśānanāni*[2]
>
> and
>
> *varaṁ Vṛndāvane ramye śṛgālatvaṁ vrajāmy=aham*
> *na tu vaiśeṣikīṁ muktiṁ prārthayāmi kadācana.*[3]

Of these the second verse with slight modification was quoted by the monist Prakāśānanda in the 16th century as an example of *rāgī-gītā* as has been noted below (p. 221). Here the condemnation of people who loved Vṛndāvana is significant, and it is apparent that Gaṁgeśa was not referring to ordinary adulterers, but to a religious sect, in which adultery, actual or symbolical, had been accepted as a part of the creed. It is difficult to arrive at a definite conclusion on this evidence, but if this is linked with Rāmānandarāya's teachings as given below (pp. 179-84), and his practices as described in the *CC* (III, v, 11-18), it would point to a Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult.

By a strange quirk of fate, the greatest exponent of Navyanyāya of his time, Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, completely submitted to Caitanya and requested him to meet Rāmānandarāya, and soon no trace of obloquy was to remain in connection with the worship of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa and their amour. This was entirely due to Caitanya. He separated the precious metal from the dross, and firmly united the purified doctrine with Vedānta. There possibly still remained unredeemed persons or sects of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa worshippers whose practices might be condemned, but that was in spite of Caitanya, not

1. 'Therefore, those senseless persons are not eligible (for the study of Navyanyāya), who hanker for pleasure and in spite of many hardships and sufferings run after others' wives saying "let my head roll on the ground" and "it is preferable to be in lovely Vṛndāvana" et cetera.' Quoted by MM Phaṇibhūṣaṇ Tarkavāgīśa, *Nyāya-paricaya*, p. 10.
2. 'For your lovely eyes, let my head roll on the ground; did not Rāvaṇa lose his ten heads for the sake of Sītā.' ibid.
3. 'I would prefer to roam as a jackal in lovely Vṛndāvana, rather than pray for the Vaiśeṣika type of liberation.' ibid.

due to him. The result of any movement depends to a great extent upon the age in which the work is cast.

* * * *

All great historical figures in Bengal before Caitanya—and for centuries after him—are somewhat shadowy, being known only from inscriptions or stray references in chronicles by no means always friendly to them, such as, men like Śaśāṁka, Divya or Rājā Gaṇeśa. Caitanya appears in flesh and blood, and for this we should feel grateful to his biographers. They make him appear and dance before our eyes.

Caitanya ushered a new era in Bengal and laid the basis for modern Bengali culture. He was an apostle of love but also of basic human dignity, to whom humility was as natural as an iron will which never compromised on essentials. He was not an idealist —for the same reason that he was not a materialist—because the distinction between the ideal and the material did not arise for him.

But the movement which saw its culmination in Caitanya has had a very long history. For the sake of convenience it may be studied from two aspects, namely, emotional and metaphysical. The first is usually termed *bhakti* movement, and I have traced its development in a separate monograph called the *Bhakti Renaissance;* therefore, it has not been discussed in the present work which deals to a certain extent with the doctrines of the various schools of Vaiṣṇavism, particularly of Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism.

It is now almost a political creed to assert dogmatically that the medieval saints were influenced by Islām. There can be no objection to such contacts, but there is no evidence to justify the assumption. The religious doctrines which are usually included in the '*bhakti* movement' were all indigenous, and their development can be traced from an early stage to the latest phase on good documentary evidence; and Islāmic influence is nowhere traceable with the exception of a few songs by Kabir. Indeed a unique feature of medieval religious texts is their complete oblivion to foreign domination, political or cultural.

Though Caitanya had met Muslims, there is no evidence that he knew anything about Islām. One may assume, however, that had he studied Islām, he would have appreciated it, for Islām is also dualistic, and demands complete submission to God. But Caitanya would have violently reacted to iconoclastic teachings of Islām. Worship of images is an essential part of all schools of Vaiṣṇavism.

* * * *

The least that may be demanded of people who judge any doctrine is that they should judge of it in the sense in which the

teacher himself understood it. And a teacher understands his doctrine not as a distant ideal for humanity, obedience to which is impossible, nor as a mystical poetic fantasy with which to captivate (or dupe) the simple-minded men who gather around him. He understands his teachings as a real thing, and a thing which would save mankind.

It is true that no religious leader has been entirely successful. But as Rabindranath Tagore has said: 'To go through the history of the development of science is to go through the maze of mistakes it made current at different times. Yet no one really believes that science is the one perfect mode of disseminating mistakes.' The important thing to remember regarding the history of science as well as of religion is not their mistakes and failures, but their progressive ascertainment of truth.

Caitanya's life is an example of the triumph of faith, devotion, and love. If in the following pages, I have been able to bring this out, even in some very small measure, my labour shall have been amply recompensed.

* * * *

A word is possibly needed to account for the vagaries of orthography which may be noticed in the following pages. The peculiarities of Bengali pronounciation have been explained below in note 2 page 106. To ears accustomed for nearly half-a-century to Vṛndāvan-dās, Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj, Rūp, Sanātan etc., Vṛndāvana-dāsa, Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Kavirāja, Rūpa and Sanātana jarred and appeared too pedantic. Hence wherever Bengali source-materials have been used, the inherent '*a*' of the final consonant has been dropped from personal names, and restored even when the same names are found in Sanskrit sources.

* * * *

I am greatly indebted to MM. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj for patiently answering all my queries and leading me on to useful study.

I like to recall in this connection late Dr. S. K. De and Prof. H. D. Bhattacharya. Dr. De initiated me into the study of Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism and Prof. Bhattacharya encouraged me to work on history of religions. It is also my meloncholy duty to recall the memory of my friend Mr. S. N. Sen Gupta, M.A., B.L., *Kāvya-Vyākaraṇa-tīrtha*, retired Law Secretary to the Government of West Bengal, who was one of the finest scholars that I have ever come across. He read the typescript of the first four chapters and encouraged me to proceed, but passed away soon afterwards. At the time of his death

he was representing West Bengal on the Language Commission. He was a real *jñāna-bandhu* to all his friends.

I have pleasure in thanking my colleague Śrī S. A. Upadhyaya for helping me to correct some proofs, and Śrī Rajagopalan who not only helped me in correcting the proofs but actively co-operated with the press, Messrs Associated Advertisers and Printers, to whom also my gratitude is due, towards the speedy publication of this volume.

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan,
Bombay,
June 2, 1969.

A. K. MAJUMDAR

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ABBREVIATIONS

Texts

Bh.p.	*Bhāgavata-purāṇa.*
Br.S.	*Brahma-sūtra.*
C.Bh.	*Caitanya-bhāgavata* by Vṛndāvan-dās.
CC	*Caitanya-cartitāmṛta* by Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj.
G.Bh.	*Govinda-bhāṣya* on *Br.S.* by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa.
GGD	*Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* by Kavi-karṇapūra.
LP	*Līlā-prasaṁga* by Svāmī Sāradānanda.
MC	*Caitanya Cariter Upādān* by Dr. B. B. Majumdar.
Pr.S	*Prīti-sandarbha* by Jīva Gosvāmin.
PS	*Paramātmā-sandarbha* by Jīva Gosvāmin.
TS	*Tattva-sandarbha* by Jīva Gosvāmin.
VP	*Viṣṇu-purāṇa.*
VSM	*Vedānta-siddhānta-muktāvalī* by Prakāśānanda.

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VSM	*Vedānta-siddhānta-muktāvalī* by Prakāśānanda.

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CHAPTER I

VIṢṆU AND VAIṢṆAVISM

1

Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya, or as he is generally known, Śrī-Caitanya, was the founder of the last great Vaiṣṇava sect. Therefore, before dealing with his doctrine, it is necessary to discuss briefly the origin of Vaiṣṇavism.

Vaiṣṇava means a follower of Viṣṇu.[1] Its etymological meaning, however, is 'of' or 'relating to' Viṣṇu, and the Purāṇas have used the word in both the senses. But, it has been pointed out, the word in the sense of a follower of Viṣṇu, is not to be found, either in the Vedic literature or in the principal Upaniṣads. Among the 108 Upaniṣads, the word is found once in a negative sense (*avaiṣṇava*) in the *Mudgalopaniṣad,* and rarely in the *Mahābhārata.* According to Dr. J. N. Banerjea the word *vaiṣṇava* occurs in the *Mahābhārata* (XVIII, VI, 97) in the following verse:

> *aṣṭādaśa-purāṇanāṁ śravaṇād yat phalaṁ bhavet*
> *tat phalaṁ samavāpnoti vaiṣṇavo nātra saṁśayaḥ*[2]

Now this chapter (vi) is not a part of the *Mahābhārata,* which ends with Chapter V, and has not been included in the critical edition. The Citraśālā edition includes it, but at the end of Chapter V, it is definitely stated; *iti Mahābhārataṁ samāptam,* and makes it quite clear that the next chapter, namely, *Mahābhārata-śravaṇa-mahimā,* where the verse quoted above is found, is from the *Harivaṁśa.*

The word which was generally used to denote the followers of Viṣṇu, seems to have been *bhāgavata,* and Varāhamihira, who is usually taken to have written his *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* in the middle of the 6th century A.D., says that the *bhāgavatas* should worship in Viṣṇu temples. We shall presently discuss earlier use of the term *bhāgavata* and its relation with Vaiṣṇavism; but before doing so, it would be preferable to trace briefly the origin of Viṣṇu.

2

Viṣṇu is mentioned in several hymns of the *Ṛgveda,* full details of which can be found elsewhere.[3] How this Vedic god became identified with the deity of possibly the largest sect in India has

been a subject of inquiry by modern scholars for a long time; as a result a considerable volume of literature is available giving divergent opinion regarding the origin of Viṣṇu. One of the latest and most comprehensive work on the subject is by J. Gonda, who has discussed the theories relating to the possibilities of Viṣṇu being a god of fertility, a liberal and beneficent god, and his relation with Sun god and Indra.[4] Gonda has also given brief summaries of views of practically all the modern scholars regarding the origin and importance of Vedic Viṣṇu. At the end he concludes: "We are, to begin with, fortified in our opinion that any effort to give a historical account of the role played by the god in the spiritual and religious life of ancient India can for reason peculiar both to the character of our sources and to the nature of the subject itself only end in an unsatisfactory substitute of what a historical study should be."[5] We fully subscribe to Gonda's view, and therefore shall not attempt to assess the position of Viṣṇu as a Vedic god on an analysis of the *Ṛgveda*.

However, a few points may be discussed in this connection.

There is a well-known hymn in the *Ṛgveda* (1.22.20) which is as follows: *tad Viṣṇoḥ paramaṁ padaṁ sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ divīva cakṣur ātatam*. This has been translated by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar as: 'The wise see the highest place of Viṣṇu (*Paramaṁ padam*), as it were an eye fixed in the heaven.' R.T.H. Griffith translated it as:

> 'The princes evermore behold that loftiest place where Viṣṇu is,
> Laid as it were an eye in heaven.'

Swami Sarvananda has translated it as:

'As the eyes spread out, as it were, in the sky (behold everything clearly), so do the wise ones see the supreme state of Viṣṇu.'[6]

Griffith has rendered *sūri* as prince, and here Bhandarkar and Sarvananda's rendering 'wise (man)' is certainly preferable. But they have not translated the word *sadā*, which Griffith has rendered as 'evermore', that is always, constantly, or continuously without interruption. This seems to us to be an important adverb, and is analogous to *'ananya yoga'* of the *Gītā* (IX, 22; XII, 6), where a continuous rapport with the deity is indicated, or one might say demanded.

The importance of this hymn is, as pointed out by Swami Sarvananda, that orthodox Hindus always recite it before offering prayers, or indeed at the beginning of all rituals. As such its importance is only next to the *Gāyatrī* and would be inexplicable unless one assumes that Viṣṇu's *paramaṁ padaṁ*, had a mystic

significance from very early times. We do not know as to when it became obligatory to utter this hymn before offering prayer; if one assumes that the practice was prevalent in Ṛgvedic times, then Viṣṇu has to be conceded a very high position among the Vedic gods, indeed if not the highest. For, it is also remarkable that the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (1.7.4) says, *Yajña vai Viṣṇu* (Viṣṇu is the sacrifice); and *sarvaparama dhāma* is spoken only with regard to Viṣṇu.[7] In the Brāhmaṇa period, Viṣṇu becomes the highest god, and the story of his incarnation, the dwarf, appears quite early.[8] It is evident, therefore, that Viṣṇu attained a very high, if not the highest position, during the Vedic times, and possibly even during the age of the *Ṛgveda*. As Bhandarkar has said: "The moment which seems to have been in operation during this process of elevation, was reverence for the third step or the mysterious highest abode of Viṣṇu beyond the ken of all."[9]

E. W. Hopkins[10] was of the same view, but Gonda has criticized him and Bhandarkar, for, according to Gonda, they seem 'to have left out of consideration the comparatively unimportant role played by Viṣṇu's highest place as the "heaven" of the emancipated in the oldest texts in which the god himself usually, or often, figures as the Infinite Spirit and the Highest Being.'[11] It is difficult to understand what Gonda means, particularly by 'oldest texts'; and as he has given no reference to support his statement, we have to ignore his criticism of Bhandarkar's and Hopkins's views.

The idea of Viṣṇu's *paramaṁ padaṁ* seems to have persisted and influenced the *vaiṣṇavas*. According to a story related in the *Harivaṁśa*, a demon used to abduct the children of a *brāhmaṇa* as soon as they were born. Having thus lost three children, the *brāhmaṇa* came to Kṛṣṇa and requested him to protect the fourth. As Kṛṣṇa was engaged in performing a *yajña*, he deputed Arjuna with all Vṛṣṇi and Andhaka warriors with the exception of Balarāma and Pradyumna. However, Arjuna and the Vṛṣṇis failed to protect the child, which as usual was taken away by the invisible demon. Then Kṛṣṇa having finished the *yajña*, took the *brāhmaṇa* with him on his chariot and asked Arjuna to drive it. After a very eventful journey they entered into a region of total darkness, and coming out of it they saw a *puruṣa-vigraha*, that is, a human shape, of radiating effulgence spread over all the *lokas*. While Arjuna and the *brāhmaṇa* waited in the chariot, Kṛṣṇa entered into that effulgent *puruṣa*, and returned with all the four lost children of the *brāhmaṇa*.[12] Later in reply to Arjuna's queries Kṛṣṇa said that, the children were stolen because, that great soul knew that

Kṛṣṇa would only come if called upon to restore a *brāhmaṇa's* children. And then Kṛṣṇa added:

> *Brahma-tejomayaṁ divyaṁ mahad yad dṛṣṭavān asi*
> *ahaṁ sa Bharata-śreṣṭha mat tejas-tat sanātanam*
> *prakṛtiḥ sā mama parā vyakt-āvyaktā sanātanī*
> *yāṁ praviśya bhavant-īha muktā yogavidūttamāḥ*
> *sā sāṁkhyānāṁ gatiḥ Pārtha yogināṁ ca tapasvinām,*
> *tat padaṁ paramaṁ Brahma sarvaṁ vibhajate jagat.*[13]

From this passage it appears that by the time the *Harivaṁśa* was written Brahman had become the object of inquiry, and accepted as the ultimate reality; so Brahman's *paramaṁ padam* was substituted for Viṣṇu's, so that Viṣṇu, or Kṛṣṇa might be identified with Brahman.

In the *Gītā*, though the word *pada* is used, the word *dhāman* is emphasized to denote the location of the highest reality; and it is this word which is usually used by the *vaiṣṇavas*. The Śrī-sampradāya of Rāmānuja calls it Vaikuṇṭha, and the Gauḍīya *vaiṣṇavas* call it Gokula. We shall discuss Gokula later.

We have to discuss another topic in this connection; that is the identification of Devakī-*putra* Kṛṣṇa of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* with Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata*. This was first proposed by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, and though criticized by Dr. S. K. De and Swami Vidyaranya, has been accepted by Dr. J. N. Banerjea.[14]

Raychaudhuri's main contentions are that, (1) both the Kṛṣṇas are son of Devakī; (2) both of them have the epithet 'Acyuta'; (3) *Chāndogya Upaniṣad's* Kṛṣṇa's preceptor Ghora belonged to the Aṁgiras family; according to the *Ṛgveda* (III.53.7), the Aṁgirases were closely related to the Bhojas who in turn were related to the Vṛṣṇi's, that is the family of the *Māhābhārata's* Kṛṣṇa; (4) *Chāndogya Upaniṣad's* Kṛṣṇa and his preceptor were worshippers of Sun and from the *Mahābhārata* it is learnt that the Sātvata religion introduced by Kṛṣṇa was first propounded by Sun. (5) Some passages of the *Gītā* have a striking similarity with some passages of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. Raychaudhuri has dwelt on a few other minor points, but those need not be discussed here.

It is true that the mother of the Kṛṣṇa of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and of the *Mahābhārata* is named Devakī. But this is too slender an evidence to suggest an identification particularly when it is recalled that for more than one thousand years the devotees of Kṛṣṇa have been reading both the texts, but never tried to identify the two Kṛṣṇas. Therefore, one has to analyze the other

reasons advanced by Raychaudhuri and it will be found that they will not bear scrutiny.

Raychaudhuri first states: 'The epic Kṛishna is often styled Acyuta. The epithet as Hill pointed out, figures in the *Upanishad* passage about the pupil of Ghora.'[15] Unfortunately instead of quoting the passage here, he quotes the translation on pp. 79-80 and the text on p. 82. However, all that the Upaniṣad passage or Ghora wanted to convey to his pupil was that, at the time of death one should remember three (*mantras*), namely, 'you are imperishable, you are unchangeable (*acyuta*) you are the true essence of life.' It is clear that *acyuta* in this passage is not meant as an epithet.

Similarly, unwarranted is Raychaudhuri's statement: 'The teacher of the Upanishadic Kṛishna belonged to a family (Aṁgirasa) closely associated with the Bhojas, the kindreds of the Epic Kṛishṇa'. Now, in the *Rigveda* III, 53.7 on which Raychaudhuri relies for this conclusion *bhoja* seems to have been used in the sense of a rich patron, and in any case does not indicate a tribe.[16]

We shall deal with the fourth point later in connection with Sātvata sect; here it is sufficient to say that Raychaudhuri has either misunderstood or misinterpreted the text.

Raychaudhuri's last point, as noted above, was the similarity between some verses of *Gītā* and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad.* From these Raychaudhuri concludes: 'How are we to account for these coincidences (i.e. parts of two passages of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and bits out of six verses of the *Gītā*)? In the *Upanishad* and in the *Gītā* we find the same doctrines associated with the name of one and the same person (Kṛishṇa the son of Devakī). There is no escape from the conclusion that these doctrines were actually learnt by Kṛishṇa from Ghora Aṁgirasa, and were transmitted by him to his disciples—the Bhagavatas—and formed the kernal of the poem known as the *Bhagavadgītā.*' In the next sentence Raychaudhuri postulates that the *Gītā* "is by no means a product of the age in which Kṛishṇa lived. Kṛishṇa himself is mentioned in one of the oldest *Upanishads,* while the *Gītā* presupposes the existence of all the classical *Upanishads* by its reference to the *Brahmasūtras.*'[17] This indeed is the strongest argument against Raychaudhuri's theory, for though the *Brahmasūtra* may be explained away, *Gītā* shows influence of many late Upaniṣads,[18] which Raychaudhuri failed to notice.

We have noted above the curious similarity of not only the personal name but that of the mother as well. But to assume on

this basis that the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* doctrine (assuming that the passages from the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and the *Gītā* cited by Raychaudhuri have anything in common, which does not seem to be apparent) could only be learnt from a seer mentioned in the *Upaniṣad* is very far fetched. Secondly, there are passages in the *Gītā* which resembles other *Upaniṣads*. The way out of this difficulty and the chronological difficulty is removed by suggesting that the *Gītā* was composed long after the death of Kṛṣṇa. Raychaudhuri's reasons for this conclusion as noted above are: "Kṛṣṇa himself is mentioned in one of the oldest *Upanishads*, while the *Gītā* presupposes the existence of all the classical Upanishads by its reference to the *Brahmasūtras*". Now, the first part of this sentence is merely an hypothetical assumption, and as for the second part it is enough to quote from Raychaudhuri a little further on,[19] where he states: "The *Gītā* was certainly known to Kālidāsa and the author of the extant *Brahmasūtras.*" Either, therefore, Raychaudhuri is contradicting himself, or assumes the former existence of a non-extant *Brahmasūtra*. This is pure speculation, and the answer can well be that the *Gītā* refers to that *Brahmasūtra*, which was quite different from the present one. As no one has seen that mythical *Brahmasūtra*, and none is likely to see it, it will be impossible to contradict such a statement. There are also other reasons.

As for the *Brahmasūtra* mentioned in the *Gītā* (XIII, 4) it may be pointed out here that in the earliest extant commentary, namely, that of Śaṁkara, *Brahmasūtra* has been interpreted not as the work on which the commentator wrote his famous *Śarīraka-bhāṣya*[20] but as: *Brahmaṇaḥ sūcakāni vākyāni Brahmasūtrāṇi*. Among the later commentators, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Ānandagiri, Veṁkaṭanātha, Vallabha, Puruṣottama, and Śaṁkarānanda are of the opinion that it refers to the text known as the *Brahmasūtra*. But Hanumat (*Paiśācabhāṣya*), Nīlakaṇṭha, Keśava Kāśmirī, Śrīdhara, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, Sadānanda (*Bhāvaprakāśa*) Dhanapatisūri (*Bhāṣyotkarṣadīpikā*) and Daivajña Pandita Sūrya (*Paramārtha Prāpa*) follow Śaṁkara.

It is therefore clear that even the medieval commentators were divided as to the interpretation of the *Brahmasūtra* mentioned in the *Gītā*, and it would be risky to frame any theory on the basis of this word.

We do not want to pursue the point further, nor shall we make any attempt to determine the age of the *Gītā*, which is not relevant to our purpose. We might state however, that the learned attempts

so far made to determine the age of the *Gītā*, have been merely efforts to pass on hypothetical possibilities as certainties, where the possibility of subjective predilections influencing scholarly judgments cannot be ruled out.

1. *Vaiṣṇavo Viṣṇusevakaḥ, Padma-purāṇa, Pātāla-khaṇḍa*, XXX, 14.2.
2. I have found the term only once in the *Mahābhārata: Yajñam Vaiṣṇavam*, *Mbh*. cr. Ed. XII, 329.39. But this has little significance. *Mudgala Upaniṣad* quoted by Swami Vidyaranya: *Pracin Bhagavat Dharmer Itihasa* (Bengali), I, p. 20. J. N. Banerjea, *Pauranic and Tantric* Religion, Calcutta, 1966, p. 18.
3. A. A. Macdonel: *Vedic Mythology*, 1963 edition, pp. 37-42.
4. J. Gonda: *Aspects of Early Visnuism*, Utrecht, 1954.
5. ibid, pp. 171-72.
6. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. IV, *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 47. R. T. H. Griffith: *The Hymns of the Rigveda*. Swami Sarvananda: The Vedas and their Religious Teachings, *The Cultural Heritage of India*, (2nd edition, 1958), Vol. I, p. 190.
7. *tac = chāntam = aśabdam = abhayam = aśokam = ānandaṁ tṛptaṁ sthiram = acalam = amṛtam = acyutaṁ dhruvaṁ Viṣṇu-saṁjñitaṁ sarvāparaṁ dhāma: Maitrayanī Upaniṣad*, VII, 3. For *sarvāparaṁ dhāma* cf. *Śvetāśvatara*, III, 9.
8. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 1.1; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XIV. 1.1. 1.2: 5. For details see Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 47.
9. ibid, p. 47.
10. E. W. Hopkins; *The Religions of India*, p. 36.
11. Gonda, op. cit., p. 2.
12. *Harivaṁśa*, ch. 113, vv. 25-27.
13. O, best of the Bharata's clan, I am the shining effulgent and great Brahman which you have seen, that is my primal power (*tejas*). that is my manifest and unmanifest ultimate (*parā*) *prakṛti*, entering which, the best of the *yogins* (*yoga* knowing people) attain emancipation (*mukti*) here. That, O Pārtha is the goal of the followers of *Saṁkhya-Yoga* (that is, *jñana-yogins*), and mendicants (*tapasvins*). That abode of supreme Brahman is the *parama-Brahma-pada* which divides the (sentient) world (from the eternal) ibid, ch. 114, vv. 9.12. Sāṁkhya here is evidently used in the same sense as in the *Gītā* (V, 4-5) similarly for *parā-prakṛti* see *Gītā*, III, 5. See also *Gītā*, VIII, 10; XVIII, 55.
14. H. C. Raychaudhuri: *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaisnava Sect* (2nd ed. Calcutta) pp. 57-58; 78-83. S. K. De: Vedic and Epic Krsna, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII (1942), pp. 297-301; Swami Vidyaranya, op. cit., pp. 163-66; J. N. Banerjea: *Pauranic and Tantrik Religion* (Calcutta, 1966), pp. 22-23. Gonda without assigning any reason states: "The arguments of those scholars who hold that Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra was originally a deity will not, in my opinion, bear scrutiny." Gonda op. cit., p. 154.
15. Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 57.
16. ibid, p. 57; Geldner (*Der Rigveda*) has translated *bhoja* as *Gastfreiner* (hospitable man) Griffith (*The Hymns of the Rigveda*) as 'bounteous' and Grassman (*Worterbuch*) as Freigiebig (very charitable). Prof. H. D. Velankar has translated the passage as follows: 'These *rich patrons* are indeed Virupa, Aṁgirases, the manly sons of the mighty Dyu, themselves.... (H. D. Velankar: *Ṛgveda*, Mandala Three, in the press. Italics mine). In a footnote Prof. Velankar has added: '*Bhoja* has already become a common name for a liberal donor in the *Ṛgveda*, see e.g. 10.107.8.11.' Sāyana says: *Bhojāḥ Saudāsāḥ kṣatriyās teṣāṃ yājakāḥ* (Bhojas are the sacrificers of the warriors called Saudāsa).
17. Raychaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 82-3.
18. See for example *Śvetāsvatara*, III, 16 *Gītā*, XIII, 13, which are identical. See also *Īśā*, 5, 6, *Gītā*; XIII, 15 and VI, 29; *Mundaka*; II, i, 2, *Gītā*, XIII, 16; *Kathopaniṣad*, II. iii. 1, *Gītā*, XV. 1. Actually later Raychaudhuri (op. cit., p. 156) quotes *Gītā*, VIII, 9 and notes that the words '*tamasaḥ parastāt*' of the last line *āditya varnaṁ tamasaḥ parastāt* also occurs in the *Mundaka*. In his enthusiasm for his theory he states: 'Curiously

enough this was one of the verses which Krishna learnt from Ghora Āṅgirasa.' (Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 157.) But the passage of the *Chāndogya* to which he refers has little to do with the *Gītā* verse in question. Actually the last line of *Gītā* VIII, 9 (quoted above) is found in the *Śvetāśvatara* III, 8, which is a very famous passage.

19. Ray Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
20. Sengaku Mayeda has conclusively proved that both the commentaries were written by the same person. Sangaku Mayeda: The authenticity of the *Bhagavadgītābhāṣya* ascribed to Śaṅkara. *Wiener Zeitschrift Fur Die Kunde Süd-Und Ostasiens*, Band IX, 1965, pp. 155-197.

CHAPTER II

PAÑCARĀTRA SĀTVATA EKĀNTA AND BHĀGAVATA RELIGIONS

1

At the end of the *Śāntiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* there are certain chapters (322-339; Citrasala ed. 335-351)[1] devoted to the glorification of Nārāyaṇa, wherefore they are collectively known as the Nārāyaṇīya section. As references to Pañcarātras, Sātvatas and Ekāntas are scattered in some of these chapters, it is necessary to analyse their contents, with a view to find out, if possible, their origin.

The discussion begins with a question which Yudhiṣṭhira asks Bhīṣma (321.1; C.ed. 334.1) as to the deity which the *gṛhastha*, *brahmacārin*, *vānaprastha* and *bhikṣuka* should worship. There were also other questions of a metaphysical nature and in reply Bhīṣma narrates what he had heard from his father (321.8; C. ed. 334.8), namely that Nārāyaṇa is *viśvātman*. In Chapter 322 (C. ed. 355) is related Nārada's travel to Śvetadvīpa and the description of its inhabitants. Having heard this, Yudhiṣṭhira asks for more information, and in reply Bhīṣma tells him the story which Nārada had once related to Śāntanu and which he (Bhīṣma) had also heard, namely that, there was a king called Uparicara Vasu who was a friend of Ākhaṇḍala (Indra) and a devotee of Nārāyaṇa-Hari, who had obtained his kingdom thanks to a boon granted by Nārāyaṇa. He used to worship the *Deveśa* (i.e. Nārāyaṇa) according to the Sātvata rites, which he had formerly learnt from Sūrya. With the remnants of the offerings, Vasu worshipped first the *pitṛs* and then the *brāhmaṇas*, but was really devoted to Janārdana. Indeed so glad was Indra to see his devotion for Nārāyaṇa that he (Indra) used to sit with Vasu on the same seat which had been donated by Indra to Vasu. Vasu had dedicated everything he had to Bhagavat, that is, Nārāyaṇa. He carefully performed all the *kāmya* and *naimittika* sacrifices according to Sātvata rites. In his house the most celebrated Pañcarātra scholars were always to be found, and they used to enjoy the first share of the offerings to Bhagavat. (322.2-16-24; C. ed. 335. 17-27).

Then after another verse eulogizing king Vasu, Bhīṣma suddenly begins to speak of the seven sages, collectively known as the Citraśikhandins (lit. those whose top-knots on the head are bright or wonderful). They were, Marīci, Atri, Aṁgirasa, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasiṣṭha, who composed a *śāstra* which was (as authoritative as) the four Vedas; and this *śāstra* was promulgated by the seven sages, who are called *prakṛtis*, and *Svāyambhuva*, that is Brahmā. (Nīlakaṇṭha explains that *prakṛti* here indicates *mahat*, *ahaṁkāra* etc., while Svāyambhuva means the *mūla-prakṛti*). Then the sages worshipped Nārāyaṇa for one thousand divine years; as a result Nārāyaṇa sent Sarasvatī to them and the Goddess blessed (lit. entered into) all the seven sages. Then those sages used for the first time words imbued with *artha* and *hetu*, and this *śāstra* began with *Om*, and was first recited to Bhagavat, that is, Nārāyaṇa. Thus pleased, Puruṣottama told the sages that it was a very good *śāstra*, and would benefit all men. Then after more praises, Nārāyaṇa said, that Svāyambhuva Manu would preach this religion, and so would Śukra and Bṛhaspati, that is when they were born. 'After this *śāstra* has been promulgated by Svāyambhuva Manu, Śukra, and Bṛhaspati, king Vasu would learn it from Bṛhaspati, who would be my great devotee, and would perform all the *kriyās* according to this *śāstra*. By preaching this *śāstra* you will have many descendants and the great Vasu will become linked with *rāja-śrī*. After the death of that king (Vasu) this *śāstra* will disappear.' (322.48; C. ed. 335. 51) Saying this the unseen Puruṣottama left the sages, who then preached the *śāstra*. (322.26-52; C. ed. 335. 29-55).

Vasu's story is continued in the next two chapters (323 and 324) from which it appears that in due course Vasu became Bṛhaspati's disciple and performed a horse sacrifice without killing animals, at which the Citraśikhandins, and Ekata, Dvita and Trita, who were *ekānta bhaktas* (323.24) were present. They also worshipped Nārāyaṇa. Chapter 324 relates a quarrel between gods and *ṛṣis* on the interpretation of *aja* (whether it meant 'goat' or 'corn') and Vasu was appointed mediator. As he decided unfairly in favour of the gods, the *ṛṣis* cursed him, and his power to travel in air was gone (for which he used to be called Uparicara). Vasu then worshipped Viṣvaksena and Nārāyaṇa, performed five sacrifices five *times* (324.28) whereupon Viṣṇu restored his power of travelling *through* air. Chapter 325 describes Nārada's visit to Śvetadvīpa *and his* worship of Nārāyaṇa in 171 names among which are Pañcayajñadhara (57), Pañcakāla-kartṛgata (58), Pañcarātrika (59), Sūrya (87), Phenapācārya (100), Vālakhilya (101), Vaikhānasa (102),

Citraśikhandin (156) and ultimately Nārada ends by saying *Ekānta-darśanāya namo namaḥ*'. (325.171) In the next chapter (326; C. ed. 339) Nārada sees the Viśvarūpa and it is said that only Ekāntins can see this form. (326. 12; cf. *Gītā*, XI. 54). The Lord then mentions the four *vyūhas*, as follows: (A) Vāsudeva is the only and eternal principle; he is immanent in the five principles (earth, water etc..); the five principles in combination form the body; the *jīva* without which the active principle (*prāṇa-vāyu*) is useless is Saṁkarṣaṇa or Śeṣa; from Saṁkarṣaṇa is evolved Pradyumna, who by his deeds attain Sanatkumāratva (*jivan-mukti*) in whom all life reverts after dissolution, and he is the universal mind; from him is produced Aniruddha, the Lord of *kārya* and *kāraṇa* and the begetter of the phenomenal word. (B) Vāsudeva is *kṣetrajña, nirguṇātmaka* and knowable; (as) *jīva* (he) is Saṁkarṣaṇa; from Saṁkarṣaṇa is evolved Pradyumna who is the mind, and from Pradyumna is evolved Aniruddha who is the *ahaṁkāra*. (326, 24-39; C. ed. 339, 32-42). (C) Thereafter the Lord (Bhagavat) is identified with the Puruṣa of Sāṁkhya (v. 41) creator of Māyā (v. 43) etc. Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha are again mentioned: 'I have four *mūrtis*, (from Vāsudeva) is produced Saṁkarṣaṇa also called Śesa, from him is born Pradyumna, and from Pradyumna is born Aniruddha. I am Pradyumna and Aniruddha, and this recurring creation is mine, from Aniruddha's lotus-navel Brahmā was evolved, and from Brahmā came the entire phenomenal world, both the animate and the inanimate; knowest thou, that thus do I create (the world) at the beginning of each *kalpa*.' (326. 68-70; C. ed. 339. 73-75).

Thus it will be seen that the *vyūhavāda* has been presented in three different manners in the same chapter, and in the third account, the *vyūhas* are called *mūrtis* and Brahmā is introduced as the active creative agent. This account may be an attempt to syncretize *vyūhavāda* with *avatāravāda;* its identification of Saṁkarṣaṇa as Śeṣa is also interesting for the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas also made the same identification and further identified Śeṣa or Saṁkarṣaṇa with Kṛṣṇa's brother Balarāma and then with Caitanya's companion Nityānanda, as will be explained later.

The Lord then gave a list of his *avatāras*, namely, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Dāśarathī Rāma, and Kṛṣṇa. About Kṛṣṇa the Lord predicts that he would establish the city of Dvārakā at Kuśasthalī, kill Narakāsura, Mura, Pīṭha, and the king of Prāgjyotiṣapura, defeat Śaṁkara and Mahāsena the beloved of Bāṇa, kill thousand armed Bāṇa, Kālayavana, be instrumental in killing Jarāsandha and kill Śiśupāla; it is further predicted that

the Lord would be a friend of Arjuna, and they would be described as the sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa intent on destroying the *kṣatriyas* for the good of humanity; having fulfilled the desire he would destroy all the Sātvata chiefs, his own kindreds; having performed innumerable deeds, he would return to his own *loka*, in his *caturmūrti*, worshipped by Brahmā. (326.71-93; C. ed. 77-102). Then the Lord added that, not even Brahmā had ever seen him and that Nārada could see him because of his *ekāntagata-buddhi* (v. 96). 'O *brāhmaṇa*' the Lord declared, 'You are devoted to me, hence I have related to you my past and future *avatāras* with their secrets (*sarahasya*).' (v.97).

Having said this, the Lord in his *viśvamūrti* disappeared, and Nārada, his desires fulfilled, returned to Badarāśrama, to see the sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa. Then Bhīṣma says (the whole episode, it may be remembered is related by Bhīṣma to Yudhiṣṭhira): 'This great *Upaniṣad* (that is, what Nārada had heard from the Lord) is completely possessed of the four Vedas (and) based on Sāṁkhya and Yoga is called Pañcarātra. It was sung by Nārāyaṇa, heard by Nārada and related by him in Brahmā's house just as he had seen and heard.' (vv. 99-100).

Yudhiṣṭhira then asked another question in reply to which Bhīṣma informed him that, Nārada recited this Purāṇa imbued with Veda (*purāṇam Veda-sammitam*, v. 106) for the benefit of the Siddhas assembled in Brahmā's house; from them (*teṣāṁ sakāśāt*) Sūrya heard it, and related it to his followers 60,000 in number; they related it to the gods on the Meru mountain; from them (*teṣāṁ sakāśāt*) Asita heard it, who related it to Bhīṣma's father, who related it to Bhīṣma. (vv. 104-111). Bhīṣma further on states that, he who will read it or listen to it everyday, will enjoy *ekānta-bhāva* and will be established in *ekānta;* he will reach the Śvetadvīpa, and gain moon-like brilliance, and will undoubtedly enter the god with thousand rays. (vv. 116-17; C. ed. 128-29).

Chapter 327 (C. ed. 340) is not of interest for our purpose but in verses 24-26 (C. ed. 30-31) it is stated that for the creation of the world the Paramātman of Sāṁkhya and Yoga by his own *karma* becomes (is called) Mahāpuruṣa; from him is evolved the unmanifest which is called by the learned as Pradhāna; from Īśvara (evolution of Īśvara is not given) and the unmanifest (*avyakta*) is evolved the manifest (*vyakta*), who is called Aniruddha and Mahānātman. 'This manifest Aniruddha has created Brahmā, who is extremely brilliant and is called *ahaṁkāra*. (vv. 24-26; C. ed. 29-31).

In Chapter 328 (C. ed. 341), Kṛṣṇa relates to Arjuna his glory and the derivation of his various names and incidentally he says that of his four kinds of devotees, the Ekāntins are the best, because they do not worship any other god; and 'I am their *gati,* they who work without any expectation.' As the other three kinds of devotees expect result they fall down, but the *pratibuddhas* (i.e. *jñanins*) are the best. (vv. 30-31; C. ed. 34-35).

Actually in this chapter Vaiśampāyana relates to Janamejaya Kṛṣṇa's answers to Arjuna's query, and this dialogue is continued in prose in the next chapter (329; C. ed. 342, vv. 1-65) in which Kṛṣṇa describes to Arjuna, the beginning of creation, glory of the Brāhmaṇas and various stories including that of Dadhīci, Nahuṣa, Aditi, and Dakṣa. The next chapter continues the dialogue in verse (330; C. ed. 342 vv. 65 ff) in course of which Kṛṣṇa says:

> *sattvān=na cyuto-pūrvo' haṁ sattvaṁ vai viddhi mat kṛtam*
> *janmānīh=ābhavat sattvam paurvikaṁ me Dhanañjaya*
> *nirāśiḥ-karma-saṁyuktaṁ sātvataṁ mām prakalpaya*
> *sātvata-jñana-dṛṣṭo 'ham Sātvataḥ Sātvatāṁ patiḥ*
> (330.12-13; C. ed. 342. 76-78).

(I have never fallen from (my) Essence; (or truth) (*sattva*); know indeed that truth (*sattva*) has been made by me; (and) I retain in my present birth my former (awareness of) truth. Imagine me as a *sātvata,* one attached to work without expectation (of result), I am seen by *sātvata* knowledge, I am Sātvata the lord of the Sātvatas). Thereafter Kṛṣṇa describes the etymology of other names and in reply to Arjuna's further question describes his victory over Rudra.

The following four chapters (331-334; C. ed. 343-346) conclude the description of Nārāyaṇa's glory related by Nārada and Nara-Nārāyaṇa. The next chapter (335; C. ed. 347) describes the Hayagrīva *avatāra,* recovery of the Vedas etc.

The next chapter (336; C. ed. 348) has some bearing on the religion of the Ekāntins. The chapter begins with a question by Janamejaya who first praises the Ekāntins (who, according to him, go to the *paramaṁ padam,* v. 3), and then asks Vaiśampāyana the name of the promulgator, rites (*caryā*) and origin (vv. 6-7) of the Ekāntins. In reply Vaiśampāyana says that when Arjuna became unmindful of his duties during the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war, the Lord himself sang this religion, that is the *Gītā.* (v. 8). Then Vaiśampāyana adds that he has already related this difficult religion which is equal to *Sāma-veda,* and is upheld by Nārāyaṇa. (It is interesting to note that Nīlakaṇṭha explains (vv. 9-10) that *Sāma-veda* here connotes *tat tvam asi* and *tīvra-vairāgya* of Patañjali.). Then Vaiśam-

pāyana gives the information, that Pārtha put the same question to Nārada in an assembly of sages, where Kṛṣṇa and Bhīṣma also heard it; it was also said by Vaiśampāyana's preceptor (i.e. Vyāsa). But Vaiśampāyana told Janamejaya 'Listen to what Nārada said there.' (vv. 9-12). Then Vaiśampāyana relates the evolution of this religion in each *yuga*, which are as follows:

(1) In the first *kalpa* (*Mānasaṁ janma*), Nārāyaṇa performed the *daiva* and *pitṛya* rites according to this religion, which was accepted by the Phenapa sages. From them the Vaikhānasa sages and from the Vaikhānasa sages Soma obtained it. Then it disappeared (that is, passed into oblivion.) (vv. 13-14).

(2) In the second *kalpa* (*Cākṣuṣaṁ janma*), Brahmā received it from Soma and gave it to Rudra, who taught it to all the Vālakhilya sages. Then it disappeared. (vv. 15-16).

(3) In Brahmā's third birth (*Vācikaṁ janma*), Nārāyaṇa again founded this religion. Suparṇa received it from Puruṣottama. As he performed it thrice, it is known as *tri-sauparṇa*. (Nīlakaṇṭha comments that it implies three *mantras* from the *Ṛg-veda*). This *vrata* (rite) is in consonance with the *Ṛg-veda*. From Suparṇa, Vāyu, and from the latter the Vighasāśi sages, and from them Mahodadhi received it. Then it disappeared and resumed into Nārāyaṇa. (vv. 17-22).

(4) During Brahmā's Śravaṇaja birth when Brahmā was born from Nārāyaṇa's ears, Nārāyaṇa asked him to create the phenomenal world, and gave the Sātvata religion to establish the *Kṛta-yuga* with it (Sātvata religion). Brahmā bowed to the Lord of Gods, Hari, and received from him this religion with *rahasya*, *saṁgraha*, and *āraṇyaka*. This *yuga-dharma* was *nirāśīḥ-karma-saṁjñitam* and known as Sātvata. Brahmā taught it to Svārociṣa Manu who transmitted it to his son Śaṁkhapada, who in his turn taught it to his son Sudharmāṇa (Suvarnābha, C. ed.) At the beginning of the *Tretā-yuga* it disappeared, (vv. 23-35).

(5) In Brahmā's Nāsikya (Nāsatya C. ed.) birth, the Lord Hari-Nārāyaṇa related this religion to Brahmā. From Brahmā Sanatkumāra, from him Vīraṇa, from Vīraṇa Raucya Manu (Raibhya Muni, C. ed.), and from Raucya his son Kukṣi, received it. Then this religion disappeared. (vv. 36-39).

(6) In Brahmā's Aṇḍaja birth, this religion again emanated from Nārāyaṇa, and Brahmā taught it to the Bahirṣada sages, from whom a *Sāmavedāntaga brāhmaṇa* called Jyeṣṭha received it, and from him King Avikampana received it. Then this religion disappeared. (vv. 40-43).

(7) In the present Lotus or seventh birth of Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa related this religion to Brahmā, who gave it to Dakṣa. Dakṣa gave this religion to his eldest grandson (daughter's son) Āditya, elder (brother) of Savitṛ from whom Vivasvān got it. At the beginning of the *Tretā-yuga,* Vivasvān gave it to Manu, who gave it to his son Ikṣvāku. Ikṣvāku (has) spread this religion which will pass away to Nārāyaṇa at the end of the age. (vv. 44-48; cf. *Gītā,* IV, 1-2).

Then Vaiśampāyana again adds that, this religion is the religion of *vratis* and has already been related in the *Hari-gītā;* Nārada also got it from Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa along with *rahasya* and *saṁgraha;* 'This, O King!' says Vaiśampāyana, 'is the great original *Sanātana-dharma,* (which is) difficult to learn, difficult to perform, and is always upheld by *sātvata* (*sātvatair dhāryate sadā*) (vv. 49-51) (Here Sātvata seems to mean either the Vṛṣṇi race, or "truth".) Lord Hari is pleased (if one performs this religion) with right knowledge, right application of rites and *ahiṁsā.* Sometimes one, sometimes two, sometimes three and sometimes four *vyūhas* are seen.... This is *ekānta dharma.* ...' (vv. 52-57). Curiously enough, at the end of this description Vaiśampāyana says that this account of this religion was related by his preceptor Vyāsa to Dharmarāja, that is Yudhisṭhira, in an assembly of sages, heard by Kṛṣṇa and Bhīsma, and is the same as what had been related by Nārada before. (vv. 59-60).

Janamejaya then asked as to why everyone did not follow this religion of *pratibuddhas* (that is, *jñānins*), to which Vaiśampāyana replied that there are three types of men, namely *sāttvika, rājasa* and *tāmasa.* The *sāttvikas* are *ekānta-bhaktas* of Nārāyaṇa, and desire *mokṣa,* and Lord Hari himself carries the burden of their *yoga* and *kṣema.* (cf. *Gītā* IX. 22). 'Those mortals who are (blessed by the benevolent) glance of Madhusūdana, are known as *sāttvika* and are certain to achieve *mokṣa.* The religion practised by the Ekāntas is equal (in merit) to Sāṁkhya and Yoga, therefore they attain the ultimate heaven of Nārāyaṇa's *mokṣa.* By virtue of Nārāyaṇa's blessing of glance one becomes a *pratibuddha* and not by one's will." (vv. 66-70) Vaiśampāyana then describes the different fates of the *rājasika* and *tāmasika* persons, after which Janamejaya, asks him the fate of the *vaikārika* (v. 74), that is *sāttvikas* tainted with ego. In reply Vaiśampāyana says that, 'a *puruṣa* of the twenty-fifth (*tattva,* that is *jīvātman*) can attain the very subtle (one) associated with *sattvaguṇa* and three letters (*praṇava*) by completely giving up ego. Thus *Sāṁkhya-Yoga* and *Ved-āranyakas* are same (i.e. identical), they are complimentary to each other and are also known as *Pañca-*

rātra, this is the religion of the Ekāntins who are devoted to Nārāyaṇa.

> *evam ekaṁ sāṁkhya-yogam ved-āraṇyakam eva ca*
> *paraspar-āngāny=etāni pañcarātraṁ ca kathyate*
> *eṣa ekāntināṁ dharmo Nārāyaṇa-parātmakaḥ*

Nīlakaṇṭha in explaining this verse (C. ed. 348. 81-82) says:

> *sāṁkhyam ātm-ānātma-vivekah; yogaś citta vṛttinirodhaḥ; ved-āraṇyakaṁ Jīva-Brahm-ābhedaparaṁ tattvamasyādi-vākyajaṁ jñānam; pāñcarātraṁ bhaktimārgaḥ paramagurau kṛtānāṁ vaidikānāṁ karmaṇām arpaṇam; etat sarvam eka-kārya-kāritvāt samuccitam eva na tu vikalpitam iti*

In the next chapter (337; C. ed. 349), Janamejaya asks whether Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Pañcarātra Veda and Āraṇyaka, which are widely known, are the same or different. In reply Vaiśampāyana relates a long story about Vyāsa's former birth (vv. 3-57) and then adds that Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Pañcarātra, Vedas, and Pāśupata are different (*nānā-matāni*, v. 59) Kapila promulgated Sāṁkhya; sage Apantaramāḥ (a name of Vyāsa in former birth) also known as Prācīnagarbha was the *ācārya* of the Vedas; Brahmā's son, husband of Umā, lord of the *bhūtas*, Śrīkaṇṭha Śiva promulgated the Pāśupata *jñana;* the entire Pañcarātra is known only to Lord (*Bhagavān svayam*), it seems to be the best of all the *jñānas*, and is not known to the *tāmasikas*. (vv. 59-64). Nīlakaṇṭha does not comment on these verses.

For our present purpose, the Nārāyaṇīya section need not be discussed further, for the next two chapters, also included in this section, are devoted to the praise of Nārāyaṇa by Brahmā and his son Rudra (*lalāṭa-prabhavaḥ putraḥ Śiva* 338.11) which, however, does not yield any further information about the Sātvatas, Ekāntins or Pāñcarātras.

We may now attempt to correlate the information yielded by the Nārāyaṇīya section.

In Chapter 326, as we have already noted, *vyūha-vāda* has been presented along with *avatāra-vāda*. But about the *vyūha-vāda* described in Chapter 326, it should be noted that there is difference between the interpretation of the *vyūhas* in vv. 31-37, and vv. 38-39 and Brahmā is introduced along with the four *vyūhas* in vv. 68-70. It is indeed difficult to account for successive verses giving different accounts, but what is noteworthy is that Śaṁkara in his commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra* (II.2.42) has criticized the *vyūha-vāda* of vv. 38-39, which it is said is not found in any Pañcarātra text. In view of the fact that the earliest available MSS. of the *Mahābhārata* were written in the 8th or the

9th century, it is possible that, these verses were added after the *Śārīraka-bhāṣya* was written.

Next, as we have seen, Bhīṣma says that, Pañcarātra is based on the Vedas, Sāṁkhya and Yoga. This is supported by Vaiśampāyana's statement in Chapter 336, v. 76 quoted above; from which we also learn that, this was the religion of the Ekāntins. We have quoted Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on this verse, which seems to be a rational explanation. But in the next chapter (337-59) Vaiśampāyana changes his former position and says that Pañcarātra, Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Vedas and Pāśupata are different opinions. This, it may be noted, is the only verse in which the Pāśupata sect is mentioned.

Secondly, in Chapter 327 the theory of the creation of the world has probably some similarity with *Gītā,* VIII. 20, but is foreign to Pañcarātra; but here (327.31), Aniruddha has been equated with *ahaṁkāra,* which is quite foreign to the *Gītā*. It seems that, the emphasis on *nirāśīḥ-karma* (328.30; 330.13) indicates an attempt to introduce a famous idea of the *Gītā* in the religion preached in the Nārāyaṇīya section, particularly the Pañcarātra, and in Chapter 337, Kṛṣṇa, among others, is called Pañcarātrika.

Next we come to the Sātvata religion. The derivation of this word is given in Chapter 330.12-13, quoted above, from which it becomes difficult to assign to it any special sectarian significance, and there is hardly any doubt that throughout the Nārāyaṇīya section *ekānta* and *sātvata* have been used primarily in their etymological sense. However, it has been stated above that, king Uparicara Vasu used to worship Nārāyaṇa according to Sātvata rites. Here we have to note the previous history of Uparicara Vasu as found in the *Ādiparvan* (57.1-27; C. ed. 63.1-29). There it is related that, Vasu according to Indra's instructions, conquered the Cedī country. Thereafter he began a *tapas* to gain Indrahood, but was restrained by gods and Indra. As he gave up his attempt, Indra gave him a stick for protecting the people and a garland called Vaijayantī, which made him practically invincible. Out of gratitude to Indra, he dug the stick in the ground and thus started the Indra-*pūjā*.[2]

It is well-known that, Kṛṣṇa in his young age had stopped Indra-*pūjā*. This incident is related in the Purāṇas, but Kaṁśa obviously refers to this incident in the *Mahābhārata*.[3] Is it possible that a man could be the originator of Indra-*pūjā* and also be a follower of Kṛṣṇa? Chronological difficulties are also too great even

for an epic. For Vasu was the father of Satyavatī, mother of Vyāsa, Citrāṁgada and Vicitravīrya, grandsires of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas. Therefore Vasu, could either have been the follower of a form of Viṣṇu worship much anterior to the Kuru-Pāṇḍava period, or, what is more probable, the verses relating to Vasu in the *Śāntiparvan* are interpolations or corrupt.

Even if we accept Vasu's story in the Nārāyaṇīya section as a part of *Mahābhārata,* it should be noted that the prophecy was that after Vasu's death the religion which he followed would disappear. Therefore it is not possible to identify Vasu's religion with Pañcarātra or any other known sect.

Raychaudhuri, as noted above, has partly based his theory of the identification of Upaniṣadic and epic Kṛṣṇa on a verse from the chapter dealing with Vasu and stated that 'the *Sātvata-vidhi* expounded by the epic Krishṇa has been declared in days of yore by the Sun himself *prāk-sūrya-mukha-niḥśṛīta'*.[4]

Now, it has been shown above that in spite of this categorical statement in Chapter 322, 19, in verse 44 of the same chapter it is stated that Vasu will learn it from Bṛhaspati and this is reiterated in 323, 2-3, and Sūrya is nowhere mentioned, and the next chapter relates how Bṛhaspati performed the sacrifice as Vasu's priest. Therefore it is impossible to reconcile the statements of 322.19 and 322.43. Complications are also created by 322.23 and 322.24 which state that the king Vasu used to perform rites according to Sātvata system; and that the chief among the Pañcarātra scholars used to get presents and were the first to be offered food. From these two verses, Dr. Kane has concluded that Sātvata and Pañcarātra were the same sect.[4a] This, however, need not be the implication of the two verses, and such identification would militate against the statement, noted above, that the Sātvata religion would disappear with Vasu.

Another important point to be noted in Chapter 322 is the abrupt manner in which the Citraśikhandins are introduced in v. 26. This has not only no relation to what has been stated by Bhīṣma (vv. 17-25), but, as we have noted above, contradicts the latter. This and the fact that they do not give a list of teachers leads us to suggest that vv.17-25 are very late interpolations, and was not even a part of the 'original interpolation' if we may be permitted to use this odd term. Therefore they should be disregarded.

Another point to be noted about Vasu is that he performed five sacrifices five times (324.28). This may be the reason for which in the next chapter (325.57) Nārada calls Nārāyaṇa, Pañcayajñadhara',

but it also reminds one of Pañcarātra described in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 6.1) where Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa desiring to overpass all beings 'beheld the five days' sacrifical performance and took the performed offering'.

The religion practised by Vasu cannot be identified with Sātvata for another reason. We have given above a summary of Chapter 336 where it is stated (vv. 23-35) that Brahmā received the Sātvata religion from Nārāyaṇa and it was transmitted as follows:

Brahmā	Śaṁkhapada
Svārociṣa	Sudharmāṇa

After Sudharmāṇa the religion disappeared. Here Vasu is not mentioned, and if 336.23-35 really describe a sect, then Vasu cannot be said to have belonged to it.

Regarding the Ekānta religion we have seen that the description of the Ekāntins in 328.30-33 are similar to *Gita* VII.16-19. This is confirmed by Vaiśampāyana in 336.8 as noted above. Therefore we may identify the Ekānta as the religion of the *Gīta*. Nīlakaṇṭha also emphasizes the difference between Ekāntins and the Pāñcarātras while commenting on 336.3 (C. ed. 348.3) which is as follows:

Caturthyām caiva te gatyāṁ gacchanti Puruṣottamam
Ekāntinas=tu puruṣā gacchanti paramaṁ padam.

(They, the Ekāntins, reach the ultimate goal (which is) Puruṣottama, the fourth *gati* (state).).

Commenting on this verse Nīlakaṇṭha explains *caturthya* as *Aniruddha-Pradyumna-Saṁkarṣaṇ-ānapekṣya caturthyāṁ Vāsudevākhyāyāṁ Hari-bhaktānām viśeṣam āha*. From this it is apparent that the Ekāntins only worshipped Vāsudeva-Hari, and not the *vyūhas* of the *avatāras* and thus they expected to attain the highest goal.

It is also difficult to identify the Sātvata with either Pañcarātra or Ekānta, and indeed it is questionable whether any sect of that name ever existed,[4b] except in the myth contained in Chapter 336. 23-35; the religion of the Citraśikhandins it may be noted, is not given any name. It is remarkable, however, that nowhere in the Nārāyaṇīya section do we find the word 'Bhāgavata'; this leads us to believe that Ekāntins were later called Bhāgavatas, for Ekānta as a sect is not known except in the Nārāyaṇīya section. However, Bhāgavata is mentioned in the Besnagar inscription of the second century B.C. as will be related later; it is possible therefore that the core of the Nārāyaṇīya section was written before 2nd century

A.D. and later additions were made by Pāñcarātras, who were not Bhāgavatas.

2

As we have stated above (p. 1), the term Vaiṣṇava, was not used in ancient times, and it is usually taken that the general word in use seems to be Bhāgavatas, that is worshippers of Bhagavat or as Bhandarkar says, 'highest Brahman'.[5] He also includes the Pañcarātra in the Bhāgavata system, but distinguishes it from the 'Ekāntika Dharma, which was promulgated in the *Gītā*'.[6] But as we have shown above, this identification of Bhāgavata and Pañcarātra is not tenable, that is, before the advent of Rāmānuja.

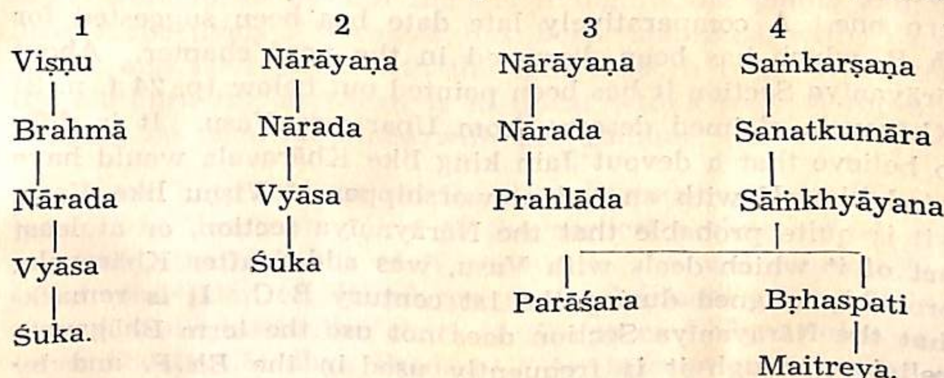
The word *Bhagavat* is used to denote a person or a book, whose object is to describe the teachings or the life of a *bhagavat* or *bhagavatī*; a person who is a devotee of *bhagavat* or *bhagavatī* is also termed a *bhāgavat,* and it is in this sense that the word is most commenly used. Etymologically, the word means one who is possessed of '*bhaga*'. This word, which in the *Ṛgveda* (VII. 41) has been used as the name of a god, was also used in various senses, and for our present purpose would seem to mean 'majesty, lustre or wealth'; therefore a male possessed of these qualities was a *bhagavat,* and the female *bhagavatī.*

The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* calls itself *Sātvatī-śruti* (I. iv. 7), *Sātvata-saṁhitā* (I.vii, 6) and *Bhagavatī-saṁhitā,* (I, vii, 8) but it also refers to Kṛṣṇa as the 'Lord of the Sātvatas (*Sātvatām bhartā,* X, vi, 3 and *Sātvatām prabhu* X, xxxvii, 11), wherefore it appears that all that is meant is that the *Bh.P.* is a *Saṁhitā* or *Śruti* relating to Kṛṣṇa. Again in the same Purāṇa (VII, x, 45-46) Nārada says that the religion by which *bhagavān* can be attained is *bhāgavata,* and that *bhagavān* is Viṣṇu. From this, it is evident that Viṣṇu is the object of worship of the *bhāgavatas* and that he is also known as *Bhāgavata;* and from the statement *Ekāntināṁ Bhagavatas=tad=akiñcanānāṁ* (Ekāntins are the indigent (votaries) of Bhagavat; *Bh. P.,* VII, vi, 27) it appears that the Ekāntins were the worshippers of Bhagavat.

The *Bh.P.,* however, seems to contain several different traditions regarding the list of the teachers of this religion. Śuka says (*Bh. P,* II. iv, 25; II, ix, 5-7; III, iv, 13) that the secret doctrine preached in the work (*Bh.P.*) was given by Viṣṇu to Brahmā; from Brahmā, Nārada received it, who related an abridged version to Vyāsa, who incorporated these teachings in the *Bh.P.,* and taught his son Śuka who read it out to King Parikṣit. Elsewhere, Śuka (*Bh.P.,* X, lxxxvii, 8; 47-48) says that this *Brahmavāda* was first

related by the sage Nārāyaṇa to Nārada, who in turn related it to Vyāsa and Vyāsa to Śuka. Elsewhere, (*Bh.P.* VII, vi, 27-28) Prahlāda states that the *Bh.P.* was related by Nārāyaṇa to Nārada, who related it to Prahlāda. However, the sage Maitreya says (*Bh.P.* III, viii, 2-9) that, Bhagavān Saṁkarṣaṇa first related the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* to the sage Sanatkumāra who was desirous of learning the true principles of Vāsudeva; the latter related it to Sāṁkhyāyana, who told it to sages Parāśara and Bṛhaspati; Maitreya learnt it from the latter and related it to Vidura.

Thus from the *Bh.P.* we get four lists of teachers, namely:



Of these four traditions, the first three can be reconciled; Nārāyaṇa is held to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and in each the teaching is handed through Nārada. The fourth list is, however, entirely different.

The name of Sanatkumāra and the description of the sage Sāṁkhyāyana as chief of the Paramahaṁsa-religion, indicates its affinity with the Haṁsa sect of the *vaiṣṇavas* to which Nimbārka belonged and Sanatkumāra is mentioned in two other lists in the *Bh.P.* First the *Bh.P.* (VI. iii. 20) states that twelve persons only knew the *Bhāgavata dharma*, namely Svayambhū, Nārada, Śambhu, Kumāra (i.e. Sanatkumāra), Kapila, Manu, Prahlāda, Janaka, Bhīṣma, Bali, Śuka, and Yama. Of these twelve names, only four, namely, Svayambhū (Brahmā), Nārada, Kumāra (Sanatkumāra); and Prahlāda are to be found in the lists given above. But this list (*Bh.P.* VI. iii.20) is important, for Jīva Gosvāmin refers to it in the *Bhakti-sandharbha* (110) which implies that he recognized twelve sects, for he does not discuss this matter any further. However, again in the *Bh.P.* (IX. iv.57-8), Rudra tells Durvāsas: 'Myself, Sanatkumāra, Nārada, Brahmā, Kapila, Devala, Dharma, Āsuri, Marīci; and the Siddhas, (that is) all who have the knowledge (of reality *pāradarśinaḥ*), do not know *māyā* being enveloped by her.' From the

context, 'knowledge' here means, the knowledge of Viṣṇu, and this list seems to indicate a line of teachers.

It is, however, quite evident that the *Bh.P.* is not following the Nārāyaṇīya section, and both seem to ignore *Gītā* IV. 1. As it is not possible to maintain that the Nārāyaṇīya section and the *Bh.P.* were earlier than the *Gītā,* the only possible conclusion seems to be that they attempted to record current traditions. It is possible, however, that the Nārāyaṇīya section and the *Bh.P.* were written at about the same time, and it is also possible that while the former records the northern tradition, the latter records the southern one. A comparatively late date has been suggested for the *Bh.P.* which has been discussed in the next chapter. About the Nārāyaṇīya Section it has been pointed out below (p. 24 f. n. 2) that Khāravela claimed descent from Uparicara Vasu. It is difficult to believe that a devout Jain king like Khāravela would have associated himself with an ardent worshipper of Viṣṇu like Vasu, hence it is quite probable that the Nārāyaṇīya section, or at least the part of it which deals with Vasu, was added after Khāravela, who probably reigned during the 1st century B.C. It is remarkable that the Nārāyaṇīya Section does not use the term Bhāgavata as a religion, though it is frequently used in the *Bh.P.* and by Heliodorus in the second century B.C. It is possible, therefore, that the *Bh.P.* was written before Heliodorus, and the Nārāyaṇīya section was later added by the Pāñcarātras as an aid to the propagation of their faith.[6a]

It may therefore be tentatively concluded that there were two sects of Nārāyaṇa worshippers, one of which followed the Pañcarātra tradition whose origin is not known. The other followed the *Gītā* tradition and were known in later times as the Bhāgavatas. Thus Bāṇa in the *Harṣacarita* mentions Pañcarātra and Bhāgavata as two different sects. One of the principal preachers of the Bhāgavata sect was believed to be Nārada. It is clear however that, there were other exponents and tradition preserved their names as we find in the Nārāyaṇīya section and also in the *Bh.P.* The medieval Vaiṣṇava sects also were divided into four sects, and each claimed to have a distinct line of teachers, the earliest of whom heard the doctrine from Nārāyaṇa himself. Though there were doctrinal differences between these sects, the line of teachers was so important, that Caitanya's sect could not claim to represent any traditional sect, and later had to affiliate themselves to the Brāhma or Mādhva sect, though there were serious doctrinal differences between them.

3

Quintas Curtius, a Greek historian of the 1st century B.C., observes on the authority of Alexander's contemporary historians, that the soldiers of Porus, carried the effigy of Herakles while fighting the Greeks. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador to the court of Candragupta Maurya, also refers to the worship of Herakles by the Sourasenoi in whose lands were situated the cities of Methora and Kleisobora and through it flowed the navigable river Jobares. He further observes that the two gods, Herakles and Dionysios were worshipped by the Indians living in the plains and on the hills respectively. Herakles has been identified with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, and Sourasenoi with the Surasenas, a tribe which lived in the Mathura region which is identical with Greek Methora, while Jobares has been identified with the Yamuna.[7]

Later, however, another Greek ambassador came to take greater interest in Vāsudeva. One of the earliest archaeological evidence regarding the worship of Vāsudeva is the well-known Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodorus, the ambassador of the Indo-Greek king Antialkidas to the court of Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra of Vidiśā (near Gwalior Madhya Pradesh). An inscription engraved on the shaft of the pillar which gives these details records that *Bhāgavata* Heliodorus erected it in honour of *Devadeva* Vāsudeva, and the column is described as Garuḍadhvaja. Scholars have taken this as an evidence of Viṣṇu's identification with Sun-God for, in the Vedas, Sun has been twice called *Garutmat,* a bird, and we know from post-Vedic mythology that Garuḍa is Viṣṇu's vehicle. However, the *Garuḍa-dhvaja,* or the capital in the shape of Garuḍa is missing.[8]

Other inscriptions relating to Viṣṇu worship have been found at Nagari, Ghosundi (both in Rajasthan) and Mora in Mathura region. The former two inscriptions record the worship of Bhagavān by one Pārāśarī-putra Gājāyana, who had performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice, but had erected a Nārāyaṇa-*vāṭikā* for the worship of Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, "the unconquered and lords of all." Bhandarkar had taken this to refer to the *vyūha* worship of the Pāñcarātras but Banerjea has shown that it alludes to the five *manuṣya-prakṛiti-devas* mentioned in the *Vāyu-pūraṇa,* and are also alluded to in the Mora well inscription found near Mathura.[9] This must have been a sectarian form of worship which disappeared without leaving any trace behind it, but the provenances of the inscriptions show that it covered a fairly wide region.

Bhandarkar discussed the inscriptions mentioned above and the references to Vāsudeva and Arjuna in order to establish the date of the *Gītā*.[10] In this connection he observed that, at the time the *Gītā* was composed Vāsudeva's identification with Viṣṇu had not been acknowledged, because in the eleventh chapter of the work, though Arjuna twice addresses Kṛṣṇa as Viṣṇu, the latter identifies Viṣṇu as the chief Āditya.[11] This may be explained by the fact that *vaiṣṇavas* made a distinction between Viṣṇu the supreme principal and Viṣṇu a lesser deity. However, it appears that Bhandarkar is wrong when he states that Kṛṣṇa was not acknowledged as an incarnation of Viṣṇu in the *Gītā*, for in the eleventh chapter (v. 46) Arjuna ends his prayer by praying:

tenaiva rupeṇa caturbhujena
sahasra-vāho bhava viśvamūrte

While translating this verse Swami Prabhavanada and Christopher Isherwood remark that, 'the only explanation of this passage seems to be that Arjuna is asking Sri Krishna to assume the shape of his chosen deity Vishnu—since it cannot mean that Krishna had four arms while in his human shape.'[12] This conclusion seems to be quite reasonable, so it may be further concluded that the *Gītā* identifies Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu who at that time was worshipped in his well-known four-armed form.

As for the date of the *Gītā*, it has not yet been satisfactorily established, nor is it necessary for our present purpose to go into the problem, which in any case cannot be solved. A very good discussion of the problem will be found in Prof. S. N. Das Gupta's *History of Indian Philosophy*, who concludes that the *Gītā* is a pre-Buddhist work.[13]

1. All references within brackets unless otherwise mentioned are to the *Śāntiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, critical edition published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. C. ed. indicates the Citrasala edition, Poona, 1932. Many additional verses are to be found in the Citrasala edition of which no notice has been taken here. Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary is given in the Citrasala edition.
2. We need not go into the details here but Vasu's (natural?) daughter was Satyavatī, Vyāsa's mother. It is interesting to note that King Khāravela of the Hathigumpha inscription claimed descent from this Uparicara Vasu. This seems to indicate that the Nārāyaṇīya section was added after Kharavela, who was a Jaina, c. 1st century B.C.
3. *valmīka-mātraḥ saptāhaṁ yady = anena dhṛto'acalah*
   tadā Govardhano Bhīṣma na tac = citram mataṁ mama
   (O Bhīṣma! What is there remarkable in this one's (Kṛṣṇa's) having supported for a week the Govardhana mountain which is like an ant hill). Nīlakaṇṭha does not comment on this verse, presumably because the implication is obvious. *Mbh.* II, 38.9; C. ed. 41.9.
4. Ray Choudhuri, op. cit., p. 57.

4a. P. V. Kane: *History of Dharmasastra,* Vol. V, p. 953.

4b. Here by sect is meant a regular *'sampradāya'* with its distinct rituals and philosophy. It may be noted that Sātvatas are mentioned in very late litera-

ture like the *Caitanya-candrodaya* of Kavi-karṇapūra. (Act. VIII, 1854 ed. p. 168) where it is stated by one Mallabhaṭṭa (from Karṇāṭaka): *Yathottaram eva dakṣiṇasyāṁ diśi kiyantaḥ karma-niṣṭhāḥ katicid eva jñāna-niṣṭhā viralā eva sātvatāḥ pracuratarāḥ pāśupatāḥ pracuratamāḥ pāṣaṇḍinah.*' It is firstly difficult to accept this statement at its face value, for *pāṣaṇḍin*, that is Buddhist dominance in the south at this time (16th century) must be a gross exaggeration. Secondly, it appears from the context that Sātvata here does not stand for the followers of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa. Our impression is that Kavi-karṇapūra had heard the name of the Sātvatas but was not quite sure about them. He could not have meant the Sātvatas of the *Bh. P.*

5. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar: *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. IV, *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Sects*, p. 11.
6. ibid, p. 17; p. 54.

6a. For the low position of the Pāñcarātras see next chapter. According to Dr. Kane 'the extant Mahābhārata is later than the extant Manusmṛti', which according to him was finally recast between 2nd Century B.C. to 2nd Century A.D. P. V. Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstra-I* (2nd ed.), pp. 344-45.

7. Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 13.
8. The inscription is in Prakrit written in Brāhmī characters of the 2nd century B.C., D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 90-91. See also George Woodcock, *The Greeks in India*, London, 1946, pp. 118-19.
9. Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 4. Banerjea, op. cit., p. 29. For the inscriptions see *Epigraphia Indica*, XXII, pp. 194; 204.
10. Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 17.
11. ibid, p. 18.
12. Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood: *The Song of God, Bhagavad Gita*, A Mentor Book, Pub. by The New American Library, 1954, p. 96, f.n.
13. S. N. Das Gupta: *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 551.

CHAPTER III

PAÑCARĀTRA AND BHĀGAVATISM

1

Though Pañcarātra is mentioned in the Nārāyaṇīya section, scholars have assumed that the extant Pañcarātra texts are much later. The oldest work to quote a Pañcarātra text is Utpala's *Spandapradīpikā* of the tenth century; about a generation later it was quoted for the first time in the south by Yāmuna, Rāmānuja's spiritual predecessor. Thus the date of the earliest Pañcarātra texts would be about 8th century A.D., which Schrader regards as the *terminus ad quem* of the original Pañcarātra *Saṁhitās*.[1] It may be noted here that Medhātithi (on Manu, II, 6) has called the Pāñcarātra and Pāśupata as heterodox sects, because they did not admit that the Vedas were the source of *dharma*. Similarly, 'in the *Kūrma purāṇa*, chapter fifteen, it is said that the great sinners, the Pañcarātrins, were produced as a result of killing cows in some other birth, that they are absolutely non-Vedic, and that the literatures of the Śāktas, Śaivas and the Pañcarātras are for the delusion of mankind. That Pañcarātrins were a cursed people is also noticed in the *Parāśara purāṇa*. They are also strongly de- nounced in the *Vaśiṣṭha-saṁhitā*, the *Śāmba-purāṇa* and the *Sūta- saṁhitā* as great sinners and as absolutely non-Vedic. Another cause of denouncement was that the Pañcarātrins initiated and ad- mitted within their sect even women and Śūdras. According to the *Aśvalāyana-smṛti*, no one but an outcast would therefore accept the marks recommended by the Pañcarātras. In the fourth chapter of the *Bṛhan-nāradīya-purāṇa* it is said that even for conversing with the Pañcarātrins one would have to go to the Raurava hell. The same prohibition of conversing with the Pañcarātrins is found in the *Kūrma-purāṇa*, and it is there held that they should not be invited on occasions of funeral ceremonies. Hemādri, quoting from the *Vāyu-purāṇa*, says that, if a Brahman is converted into the Pañcarātra religion, he thereby loses all his Vedic rites. The *Liṅga- purāṇa* also regards them as being excommunicated from all religion (*sarva-dharma-bahiskṛta*). The *Āditya* and the *Agni-purāṇas* are also extremely strong against those who associate themselves in any way with the Pañcarātrins. The *Viṣṇu, Śātātapa, Hārīta, Bodhā- yana*, and the *Yama saṁhitās* also are equally strong against the Pañcarātrins and those who associate with them in any way. The

Pañcarātrins, however, seem to be more conciliatory to the members of the orthodox Vedic sects. They therefore appear to be a minority sect, which had always to be on the defensive and did not dare revile the orthodox Vedic people. There are some Purāṇas, however, like the *Mahābhārata*, *Bhāgavata* and the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, which are strongly in favour of the Pañcarātrins. It is curious, however, to notice that, while some sections of the Purāṇas approve of them, others are fanatically against them.'[2]

According to Kane, Medhātithi most probably flourished between A.D. 825 to 900, while Hemādri flourished in the 13th century and the latter quotes the *Kūrma-purāṇa* which forbids inviting at *śrāddhas* Buddhists, Pāśupatas, Pāñcarātras and other similar heretical people.[3] The *Vīramitrodaya* however quotes *Yogi-Yājñavalkya* to the effect that Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Pañcarātra, and Pāśupata were all Vedic and are highly authoritative, but this line is not found in the printed text.[4] The date of *Yogi-Yājñavalkya* is not known, but the *Vīramitrodaya* was written in the 17th century, when the *vaiṣṇavas* had rehabilitated Pañcarātra. But, the *Vīramitrodaya* also distinguishes between a Vedic and non-Vedic Pañcarātra.

Unfortunately we do not know the dates of the texts mentioned above, which makes it difficult to trace chronologically the position of the Pāñcarātras. We may, however, observe tentatively that, by the 9th century Pañcarātra was considered to be a heterodox sect, and the stigma continued for a long time. Whether Śaṁkara's denunciation of Pañcarātra system was the cause or result of this attitude cannot be ascertained, but it is well-known that his description of the Pañcarātra system, (*Brahma-sūtra* II, ii, 42) differs from the known texts. If Śaṁkara's interpretation is correct, then, of course, this system, which he calls *'Bhāgavata'* was looked down upon when the *Brahma-sūtra* was composed. But the *vaiṣṇava* commentators, interpret it differently; Bhāskara alone agrees with Śaṁkara that this section deals with Pañcarātra doctrine, but he defends the doctrine and argues against Śaṁkara's views.

We are here more concerned with Śaṁkara's identification of *Bhāgavata* with *vyūha-vāda*, that is *Pañcarātra*, for he does not use the word Pañcarātra, but calls it the Bhāgavata system. It should also be noted that, though Śaṁkara argued against the *vyūha-vāda*, he wrote a commentary on the *Gītā*, which shows that he was not against the teachings of the Kṛṣṇa cult. As it is generally agreed that Śaṁkara lived between 788-820,[5] it may be concluded that, by the end of the eighth century Pañcarātra was sometimes called *bhāgavata*, or that the *vyuha* doctrine had been accepted by the *bhā-*

gavatas. This is curious, to say the least, for, from the time of Candra-gupta II (c. A.D. 376-415) many kings and emperors have called themselves *Parama-bhāgavatas*. Moreover, Bāṇa in his *Harṣa-carita*, written in the middle of the seventh century, separately mentions the Bhāgavatas and the Pāñcarātrikas, explained by the commentator Śaṁkarakavi as *Viṣṇu-bhaktas* (devotees of Viṣṇu) and *Vaiṣṇava-bheda* (a sect of Viṣṇu-worshippers).[5a]

It is interesting to note in this connection that in the Baset Stele inscription of Jayavarman of Kambuja (A.D. 657-681) it is stated that the deity Śrī-Trailokyasāra was worshipped by five sacrifices (*pañcabhir-yajñaiḥ*) by (people who) followed (the way) (*anu-gāmiṇa*) of five *kalās*, were proficient in the worship of the Pañcarātra deities (*Pancarātr-ārcā-cuñcunā*) and had knowledge of the five elements (*pañca-bhūta*).

The Prasat Komnap inscription of Yaśovarman (A.D. 889-c. 900) of Kambuja (v. 62), which is a royal ordinance for regulating the services of a Viṣṇu temple, it is stated that the *ācārya* should be versed in Pañcarātra and *śabda-śāstra*, which may mean grammar, but in the present context seems to mean the Vedas. From verses 72, 73 and 86 of this inscription, however, it is apparent that the terms *bhāgavata vaiṣṇava* and *sāttvata* have been used in identical sense.

A late Khmer inscription of Kambuja, namely the Kuk Trapan Sroke Stele inscription dated Śaka 995 (A.D. 1073) mentions one Kavīśvara Paṇḍita, who, observing the rules of the Pañcarātra sect, subsisted on *ghī*. He was the chief of the hermitages in four localities, and not only installed an image of Bhagavatī but a *liṁga* also. Later in life, he became the royal preceptor.[6]

The significance of the last inscription need not be discussed here, but the Baset Stele inscription of Jayavarman is interesting. The five sacrifices are also mentioned in connection with Vasu as mentioned above (p. 10, p. 19). The use of the word *arcā* shows that as early as the seventh century A.D. the Pañcarātra doctrine was connected with *arcā* worship in Kambuja, hence in India it must have been in vogue much earlier.

2

It is remarkable, however, that Rāmānuja (1017-1137) nowhere quotes from the *Bh. P.* or the *Harivaṁśa*, and confines himself only to the *VP* as his predecessor Yāmuna had done. The *Bh.P.* and the *Harivaṁśa* may be late texts, but they are certainly much older than Rāmānuja; therefore the explanation of his silence may

either be that he was ignorant of the *Bh. P* and the *Harivaṁśa,* or that in his days, his sect did not accept them as authoritative. If the second alternative, which seems more probable, is accepted, then it may be concluded that the difference between the *vaiṣṇavas* of the Pañcarātra sect (to which Rāmānuja belonged) and other *vaiṣṇavas* was that the former did not accept the *Bh. P* as authoritative which the others did.

The date of the *Bh.P.* is not free from dispute, and some scholars have ascribed it to the grammarian Bopadeva (13th century). But there is a MSS. of the Bh P. in Sarasvatī-bhavana of the Banaras Sanskrit College written in a 12th century script, that is at least a century earlier than Bopadeva.[7] We have already mentioned that Rāmānuja does not mention it; this has induced scholars to ascribe it to a late date, the general opinion being about 9th century. One of the main reasons for this opinion is that the *Bh. P.* mentions the Āḻvārs or the Tamil saints who flourished, according to modern scholars, between A.D. 500 to 850 though the traditional period ascribed to them is 4203 B.C.-2706 B.C. Now, Rāmānuja himeslf was what might be called, a follower of the Āḻvārs, and it is indeed remarkable that he should have ignored a text which mentions the Āḻvārs; assuming on the basis of the Banaras MSS. that the *Bh. P.* was written before Rāmānuja's time.[8]

Our problem, however, is not so much to determine the date of the *Bh.P.* as to attempt to find the difference if any between the followers of the Bhāgavata and Pañcarātra systems. Dr. P. C. Bagchi was of the opinion, that 'the Bhāgavatism, whatever connection it might have had with the Pañcarātra at the beginning, was completely different from it in the Gupta period. The *vyūhavāda* which was the central idea in the Pañcarātra is absent from the Bhāgavatism of the Guptas which appears as a syncretism of various Vaiṣṇavite beliefs which had come to stay in the country. Viṣṇu of Vedic Brahmanism, Nārāyaṇa of the Pañcārātras, Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva of the Sātvata, Gopāla of a pastoral people etc. all had been put in the melting pot from which originated the Bhāgavatism of the Gupta period. It is this Vaishṇavism which had found its way to Bengal in the Gupta period and had been firmly established in the Pāla period.'[9]

This view has been challenged by Dr. D. C. Sircar who points out that the complete difference between *vyūha-vāda* and *avatāra-vāda* cannot be postulated in our present state of knowledge, while the *Ahirbudhnya* and the *Viṣvaksena-saṁhitās* show the influence of *avatāra-vāda* on the Pañcarātra.[10]

Sircar's objections to Bagchi's theory seems to overlook the point, that while the Pañcarātra texts have accepted *avatāra-vāda*, the *Bh. P.*, does not accept the *Vyūha-vada* of Pañcarātra, and while a number of *avatāras* are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and in some of the Purāṇas the first attempt at systematization is met with in the *Bh.P.*

The *vyūha-vāda* of the *Bh.P.* has been discussed by Prof. S. N. Das Gupta who has remarked that 'the Bhāgavata cult here described believed in three *vyūhas* of *Vāmadeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa* and *Aniruddha,* and therefore there is no mention here of the production of the *Pradyumna-vyūha. Pradyumna* in this view stands for desire; desires are but functions of the category of *manas* and not a separate category'.[11] This is supported by Śrīdhara who, in his commentary on *Bh. P.*, III, xxvi, 27, states: *na tu Pradyumna-vyūhotpattiḥ tasya saṅkalpādi-kāryatvābhāvāt.* Das Gupta's views have been challenged by Dr. Siddhesvar Bhattacharya, who accuses Das Gupta for having failed 'to take account of the fact that the Bhagavata (11.5.29) does recognize four *vyūhas* though it does not give details of the Pradyumna-vyūha.'[12] Now, the purport of the *Bh. P.* XI, v, 29 is not very clear, and it has to be read in the context in which it has been given:

> *taṁ tadā puruṣaṁ martyā mahārāj-opalakṣaṇam*
> *yajanti veda-tantrābhyāṁ paraṁ jijñasavo nṛpa*
> *namaste Vāsudevāya namaḥ Saṁkarṣaṇāya ca*
> *Pradymnāy=Āniruddhāya tubhyaṁ bhagavate namaḥ.*
> *Nārāyaṇāya ṛṣaye puruṣāya mahātmane*
> *Viśveśvarāya Viśvāya sarva-bhūtātmane namaḥ*
> *iti dvāpara urvīśa stuvanti jagadīśvaram*
> *nānā-tantra-vidhanena kalāvapi yathā śṛṇu*
> (*Bh.P.* XI, v, 28-31 See also *Bh.P.* VI, xvi, 18-20).

Here salutation has been offered not only to Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Aniruddha and Pradyumna, but also to Nārāyaṇa Ṛṣi, Puruṣa, Viśveśvara, Viśva and to the soul of the creatures. This is entirely different from the *vyūha*-doctrine of Pañcarātra, though it may be an attempt at syncretization. Secondly, the statement that, worship is held according to Veda and *tantra.* Does *tantra* here stand for *rātra* that is Pañcarātra, as Schrader suggested,[13] or does it stand for something else, that is, in its ordinary meaning?

It should also be noted that from the description of the *vyūhas* by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, the author of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* it is apparent that though the terminology used is taken from the Pañcarātra, it had no significant influence on that doctrine.[14]

3

A way out of our difficulty would be provided by a comparison of Pañcarātra philosophy with the philosophy of the *Bh.P.* Unfortunately this has not yet been done, and it is beyond the scope of the present work. A short account of the philosophy of the *Bh.P.* was given by Das Gupta in fifty pages, and Bhattacharya has criticized Das Gupta's findings in forty-two pages.[15] It is not easy to understand Bhattacharya's standpoint but he seems to criticize Das Gupta for his reliance on Śrīdhara and Jīva for the interpretation of the *Bh.P.* Now, as someone has said, the works on the *Bh.P.* may fill up a small library, so some selection of commentators has to be made, and so far as we are concerned, Das Gupta's selection of Śrīdhara and Jīva serves our purpose quite well; for, though Jīva Gosvāmin's commentary is recognized now as the standard by the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, it was written long after Caitanya's death, and he considered Śrīdhara's commentary as the most authoritative.[16]

Das Gupta's short summary of the philosophy of the *Bh.P.* may not be correct in every detail; but his statement that, 'it may generally appear rather surprising to find such an extreme idealistic monism in the *Bhāgavata,* but there are numerous passages which show that an extreme form of idealism recurs now and then as one of the principal lines of thought in the *Bhāgavata,*'[17] seems to be entirely correct. As Das Gupta does not discuss this point at length, we may cite the following verses from the *Bh.P.*

It is stated that nine great *Bhāgavatas,* explained the Bhāgavata doctrine to King Nimi. One of them named Pippalāyana explained:[18] 'O, king, know Him to be the Great Tattwa, who is the instrument of the creation, preservation and destruction of this universe. But himself is divorced from all causes, who is present as the really existent in the various states of dream, wakefulness and sleepiness and in eternal rites and concentration, animated by whom, this body, senses, vital breaths, and mind are performing their respective actions. As scintillations of fire cannot display it or consume it, so mind, speech, eyes, intellect, vital breaths and senses are not capable of understanding him. Words can only minutely explain His meaning, but cannot manifest Him at all; Him, save whom there is no end of *Nishedhas* (proscriptions).

'Action and cause, are manifest as Brahman, for Brahman of diverse energies is the cause of both of these viz. action and cause. Before the creation the only Brahman was called Pradhāna. He is identical with three-fold qualities; for his energy of action, He

is the thread, and for His energy or Jñāna (understanding), He is called *Mahat* (Great). He is *Ahaṅkāra* (the consciousness of ego) which passes under the appellation of a creature. He is in the end manifest as the deities, senses, objects happiness and others. That *Brahman* of great energy is the action, cause, and the cause of both these. The Great soul is the Prime—without birth or death, without increase or decrease for He is the witness of the various particular states of all objects subject to birth and destruction. And He exists always and everywhere as the mere indestructible consciousness. As vital breath is determined by the power of senses, so the knowledge of Brahman is by that of scriptures. As vital breath in various forms pursues all creatures born of egg, womb, sweat and earth, so in the state of sleepiness when the action of senses and the consciousness of ego disappear, the soul for the want of gross body as its support consequent upon this change, remains in its subtle state devoid of metamorphoses; and when it rises from the state of sleepiness, recollection comes; when by great devotion consequent upon the desire of obtaining the feet of the lotus-navelled Deity, a man shall destroy the dirts of his mind engendered by qualities and action, his mind being purified like into the appearance of the sun to the clear eyes shall acquire the very knowledge of *Ātman*.'

Again the *Bh.P.* states that Lord Śeṣa told King Citraketu:[19] 'I constitute all created beings, and I am their soul and protector. *Śabda-Brahman* and *Para-Brahman* are my two eternal bodies. Behold thee! The Supreme soul pervades this universe, as well as the individual soul. I pervade both of them, and they both are made of me. Even as one, in a state of profound slumber, sees the different regions of the universe in his own self, and thinks of himself, whilst the same state continues, as awake and situated in a particular spot, so know the waking state, etc. of animated beings to be the hallucinations of the mind. Therefore, do thou worship the Great Being who is the spectator of them all. Do thou know me to be Supreme soul—Brahman—who is devoid of all the properties of matter, and through whose agency even a person who was fast asleep remembers his own slumber and happiness experienced during it.

'That knowledge is the Supreme Brahman which is found by a person remembering his experience both during sleep and the awaking state, to be the connecting link as well as the separating medium between the two states of existence. But when a person forgets this my true nature, and thinks himself independent of me.

then is he merged into worldliness, and becomes subject to assume form after form and suffer death repeatedly.'

From these, and from Prahlāda's instructions to the children,[20] Swami Vidyaranya has concluded that the main teaching of the *Bh.P.* is monism.[21]

This conclusion may not be totally invalid, but one has to take into consideration other statements in the *Bh.P.* For example.

> *na sādhayati māṁ yogo na sāṁkhyaṁ dharma Uddhava*
> *na svādhyāyas-tapas-tyāgo yathā bhaktir=mam=orijtā*[22]

Or again:

> *lakṣaṇaṁ bhakti-yogasya nirguṇasya hy=udāhṛtam*
> *ahaituky-avyavahitā yā bhaktiḥ Puruṣottame*
> *sālokya-sārṣṭi-sāmīpya-sārupy-aikatvam apy=uta*
> *dīyamānaṁ na gṛhṇanti vinā mat sevanaṁ janāḥ.*[23]

These statements may be said to be the bases of Caitanya's doctrine; undoubtedly these conflict with statements mentioned above and are difficult to reconcile. This reminds one of the *Gītā,* where after teaching Arjuna all the *yogas,* Kṛṣṇa advises him to completely surrender himself. Indeed the resemblence between the *Gītā* and the *Bh.P.* are so striking that one is inclined to suggest that the *Bh.P.* was written on the basis of the *Gītā.* There are also some similarity in the thoughts expressed in the *Bh.P.* and in the *VP* and *Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā*, which is taken as a Pañcarātra work. Possibly for this reason Das Gupta had concluded that the *Bh.P.* 'is a collection of accretions from different hands at different times and not a systematic whole', though it contradicts his earlier statement that 'it was composed by a Southerner.'[24]

It is difficult to accept the suggestion that the *Bh.P.* was composed by several persons; what is more probable is that it records all the traditions developed by the *bhāgavata* sects and is in the nature of a compendium, in the same way that many of the Upaniṣads record the utterances of different persons; therefore it is to the *bhāgavatas* or *vaiṣṇavas* what the Upaniṣads are to the *vedāntins.* Rāmānuja indeed does not refer to it; the explanation may be that the *Bh.P.* was not a Pañcarātra text to which it may be pointed out that neither is the *VP* on which Rāmānuja relied heavily. The reason may be that Rāmānuja's main task was to rehabilitate the Pañcarātra doctrine which had acquired a bad reputation, and to secure it firmly to the Vedānta school. Here he found support from the *VP* which Dr. R. C. Hazra describes as 'a work which was written by a pro-Vedic Pañcarātra scholar of a comparatively late age with the deliberate intention of writing a

religious book for the propagation of his sectarian views under the garb of a Purana'.[25]

We may therefore hold, at the present state of our knowledge, that an attempt was made by the *Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā* and the *VP* to reconcile the stigmatized Pañcarātra doctrines with Vedic thought by drawing upon certain traditions which may be called the *bhāgavata* tradition. On the other hand the *Bh.P.* rests on pure *bhāgavata* tradition of the *Gītā*, though it was not unaware of the Pañcarātra tradition; due to some common characteristics, particularly the worship of the same deity, the *bhāgavata* tradition of the *Gītā* was to some extent modified to admit the peculiarly Pañcarātra doctrine, namely the *vyūha-vāda* in a modified form. Still the Pañcarātra tradition and the *Bh.P.* tradition should be held to be different. This would explain as to why Medhātithi and some *Purāṇas* mentioned above excommunicate the Pāñcarātras. There is no doubt that Medhātithi has twisted the meaning of Manu II.6 in doing so; but Manu (III.152) himself has prescribed that the *devalaka brāhmaṇa* (one who maintained himself by attending on images either for salary or by appropriating what was placed before the image) along with healers, meat sellers and those living by (improper) trade, should be avoided at rites performed in honour of Gods and Pitṛs (that is, Vedic sacrifices and *śrāddhas*). From the following verse recorded by Locan Dās in the *Caitanya-maṁgala* (p. 100) it appears that this attitude towards the *devalaka* or *devala brāhmaṇas* persisted:

mīna snānaparaḥ phaṇi pavana-bhuk meṣo'pi parṇāśanaḥ
śaśvad bhrāmyati cakri-goḥ paricaran devān sadā devalaḥ
garte tiṣṭhati mūṣiko'pi gahane siṁho bako dhyānavān
kiṁ teṣāṁ phalam asti hanta tapasā sadbhāva-siddhiṁ kuru

(A fish bathes, a snake lives on air, and a goat lives on grass; a cow yoked to an oil-press is constantly moving (travelling), a *devala* is always serving gods, a mouse lives in a cave and a lion in a forest, while a crane meditates; what result alas can they obtain? Attain good qualities through austerities i.e. change thy inner-self.).

Now, the main subjects of Pañcarātra literature are directions regarding the construction of temples and images, and descriptions of the various rituals associated with image worship. Indeed R. V. Joshi states: 'Il faut remarquer que dans toute l'Inde, dans tous les temples, parmi toutes les sectes, que ce soit pour adorer Śrī-kṛṣṇa ou Viṣṇu, le rituel, se recommende des *Pañcarātra Saṁhitā*. Bien plus, meme dans les temples tamouls le culte est rendu selon

les *Pañcarātrasaṁhitā*, exception faite des temples de Veṅkateśvara de Tirupati et de Kancipuram ou ce sont les *Vaikhānasasaṁhitā* qui sont utilises.'[26] Now, if we hold this position to be true for the ancient period also, namely, that the Pañcarātras specialized in temple worship, then it is possible to assign them a position analogous to the *devalakas*. This would also explain as to why the Pañcarātra writers were eager to graft *bhāgavata* concepts to their doctrine, for the *bhāgavatas* were never treated as outcastes; for example, even in the second century B.C., a Greek ambassador called himself a *bhāgavata*. The effort of Pañcarātra writers were successful to the extent that Śaṁkara referred to their doctrine as *bhāgavata*.

This does not mean that the Bhāgavata doctrine did not countenance idol worship and the involved rituals, or that Śaṁkara was against these practices. This is evident from the allusion to the four-armed image of Viṣṇu in the *Gītā* (XI.46) and to a simple ritual (IX, 26) which is non-Vedic and is akin to *pūjā*.[27] Thus it seems that, there was always a common ground between the followers of the Pañcarātra and the Bhāgavata traditions due to the common deity Vāsudeva, leading to confusion and to their ultimate fusion, or the extinction of the followers of the strict Pañcarātra tradition. It may be noted here that though Madhva was the first great religious leader to write a comentary on the *Bh.P.* ultimately all the sects wrote their own commentary on it, including the monists and the Śrī-*vaiṣṇavas*.

The most distinguishing feature of the *Bh.P.* is the tenth canto which deals with the life of Kṛṣṇa, and includes the *rāsa-līlā*, which is unique in our religious literature. The importance of this *līlā* in Caitanya's doctrine will be discussed later. But a general feature of all the principal Indian sects which collectively forms the heterogenous conception known as Hinduism, may be pointed out.

There are four principal features in each sect:

(1) Rituals
(2) Mythology
(3) Mysticism
(4) Philosophy

All the *vaiṣṇava* sects seems to have relied on Pañcarātra for ritual; how far they modified them to suit the individual requirements of each sect is not known, and has never been studied. The difficulty is that rituals vary not only as between sects, but also

from temple to temple; even in the same temple rituals have been altered.

The mythologies are preserved in the sectarian Purāṇas, and the rituals are organically linked with the mythologies.

Mysticism or rather the mystic process by which reality can be realized differs from one sect to another and is their most distinguishing feature. Unfortunately, these are only known to the initiated and have not yet been divulged. Considering the time, areas, and the number of men involved, the mystic process or the *mārga-upāsanā-paddhati* of the Indian sects must be considered to be the most closely guarded secret in the world.

Indian philosophy is the rationalization of the mystic experience, wherefore there is hardly any system which does not admit of a supralogical category or does not present a clink in its armour of logic to its opponents. The Brāhmaṇical theologians were taken unawares by the Buddhists and the Jains, and their lost glory was not revived till Kumārila established an epistemological basis for the Vedic doctrines, and Śaṁkara laid not only the foundation, but the super-structure of Vedānta philosophy. Then came Rāmānuja, who integrated the Vedānta philosophy with Pañcarātra doctrine and initiated the massive *vaiṣṇava* movement of devotion, faith and philosophy.

1. F. Otto Schrader: *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, Adyar, Madras, 1916, p. 19.
2. S. N. Das Gupta; *A History of Indian Philosophy* III, pp. 19-20. For a comparison of the Ājīvika doctrine with Pāñcarātra see A. L. Basham: *Doctrines of the Ājīvikas*, London, 1951, pp. 280-82. See also: R. K. Choudhury: Heretical sects in the Purāṇas, *ABORI*. XXXVII, 1956, pp. 234-257.
3. P. V. Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV, p. 375. ibid, Vol. I, 275; it is difficult to determine the age of the *Kūrma-purāna;* according to Dr. R. C. Hazra, quoted by Kane (ibid, Vol. V, 889) the *Kūrma* was originally a Pāñcarātra work and was later altered to make it a Pāśupata one. But the verse quoted by Hemādri shows that in the 13th century i' was neither.
4. Quoted by S. N. Das Gupta; *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. IV, p. 8 f.n.
5. One of the works of Vācaspatimiśra, the author of the *Bhāmatī* commentary on the *Śārīrakabhāsya* is dated A.D. 841. Hence Śaṁkara must have flourished before that date. An inscription from Cambodia records the activities of one Śivasoma, *guru* of King Indravarman, and states that the former had studied the *śāstras* at the feet of Bhagavān Śaṁkara; Prasat Kandol Dom (N) Inscription of Indravarman, v. 39. R. C. Majumdar: *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, Calcutta, 1953, p. 60. The portion in which the date was inscribed is slightly mutilated, but the extant portion shows that the date would be between A.D. 878-887. Bhagavān Śaṁkara can only mean the Ācārya.

5a. *Harṣacarita* VIII, Ed. K. P. Parab and S. V. Toppur, N. S. P., Bombay, 1912, pp. 236-37. But in the *Marmāvodhinī* commentary of Raṁganātha (Ed. by S. K. Pillai. University of Kerala. Sanskrit Series, No. 187, pp. 378-79) the terms are explained as followers of *Bhāgavata-siddhāntas* and followers of *Pāñcarātra-tantras* respectively.

6. R. C. Majumdar: *Inscriptions of Kambuja*. pp. 560; p. 123, v. 62; p. 622.
7. MM. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj: *Bhāratīya Sādhanār Dhārā* (Bengali), Calcutta, 1965, p. 2, f.n. 2.

8. The Banaras MSS. is written in 12th century script and Rāmānuja died in 1137. It may be argued that it was written after his death and the present copy was taken soon after it was composed, and there is nothing to prove that it is not the original *Bh.P.* MSS. We are here taking a common-sense view, and most scholars are of the opinion that it was composed in the 9th century.
   For a bibliography on the date of the *Bh.P.* see A. D. Pusalker: *Studies in Epics and Puranas*, Bombay, 1953, pp. 214-16. See also Kane op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 898-99. Dr. Kane's conclusion is: 'No reliable and cogent evidence has been adduced to prove that the current Bhāgavata can be placed earlier than the 9th century.' See above p. 22.
9. R. C. Majumdar. (Ed.): *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 402-03.
10. R. C. Majumdar (Ed.): *History & Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III, *The Classical Age* (1962 Ed.). pp. 423-24.
11. S. N. Das Gupta: *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. IV, p. 27. Vāmadeva seems to be a printing mistake for Vāsudeva.
12. Dr. S. Bhattacharya: A Critique of "The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa", *The Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXVI, 1950, p. 39.
13. Schrader, op. cit., p. 24.
14. *CC* Adi, V.
15. Das Gupta, op. cit.. Vol. IV, 1-50; Bhattacharya, op. cit., 9-50.
16. Making a play on 'Svāmī' (husband) of Śrīdhara Svāmin, Caitanya stigmatized as 'prostitutes' all those who differed from Śrīdhara.
    Prabhu hāsi kahe svāmi nā māne yeī jan
    veśyār bhitare tāre kariye gaṇan
    CC Anta, VII.
17. Das Gupta, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 33.
18. Bh.P. XI, iii, 34-38. Translation by J. M. Sanyal, Vol. V, pp. 131-32.
19. ibid, VI, xvi, 51-64.
20. ibid, VII, vi, 1-25.
21. Swami Vidyaranya, op. cit., p. 226.
22. *Bh.P.* VI, xiv, 20. O Uddhava, I am not attainable (as easily) by Sāṁkhya, Yoga, recitation of the Vedas, meditation or renunciation as by exalted devotion.
23. ibid, III, xxix, 12-13.
    The devotion to Parameśvara (ultimate reality) without any reason (i.e. spontaneous and not based on knowledge) is the sign of devotion. (The real devotee) does not accept (any kind of deliverance, be it) *sālokya, sārṣṭi. sāmīpya, sārupya* or *sāyujya*. *Sālokya* means living in the same place with the Lord (here Vaikuṇṭha or Goloka etc.); Sārṣṭi means possessing the powers of the Lord, *sāmīpya* means living near the Lord. *sārūpya* means assuming the Lord's shape, *sāyujya* means to be fused with the Lord.
    The Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* reconcile the monistic doctrine to their view by equating *sāyujya-mukti* with *mokṣa* of the monists. and then point out this verse which entitles them to hold that *mokṣa* is inferior to Bhagavat-*sevā*; Gauḍīya *vaiṣṇavas* also hold that there is fifth *puruṣārtha*, namely *preman*.
24. Das Gupta, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 26; p. 1.
25. R. C. Hazra: Introduction to *Visnu-Purana* translated by H. H. Wilson, 3rd ed. Calcutta, 1961, p. h.
26. Rasik Vihari Joshi: *Le Rituel de la Devotion Kṛṣṇaïte, Pondichery*, 1959. pp. 6-7.
27. The word *pūjā*, in Tamil *pūśai*, is sometimes derived either from the Tamil words *pū* = flower and *śey* = do, i.e. an act done with the aid of flowers, or from *pūśu* = smear, implying that the smearing of the object worshipped with the blood of the animal sacrificed in the act was its central feature. But Prof. K. A. N. Sastri observes that the word *pūśai* does not occur in early Tamil literature of the Sangam period, and that the Tamil Lexicon does not notice either of these derivations for the word *pūjā*. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Development of Religion in South India*, Orient Longmans, 1963, p. 67.

CHAPTER IV

PRE-CAITANYA VAIṢṆAVISM

1

There are four traditional *vaiṣṇava* sects, namely, Śrī, Haṁsa, Brahma and Rudra; these were established respectively by Rāmānuja (1017-1137), Nimbārka, Madhva (1238-1317), and Vallabha (1479-1532 or 1481-1533). None of them, however, claim to be the founder of the sect. We are giving below the list of teachers of these four sects:

(1) *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas*

Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa
|
Śrī or Lakṣmī
|
Viṣvaksena
|
Śaṭhakopa
|
Nāthamuni
|
Puṇḍarīkākṣa
|
Rāmamiśra
|
Yāmuna
|
Mahāpurṇa
|
Rāmānuja.

Of these the last three were historical persons and can be easily identified. Of the rest Śaṭhakopa and Nāthamuni were the Aḷvār saints, and it is easy to identity the former with the compiler of the *Nālāyira Prabandham*, a collection of *vaiṣṇava* hymns. Yāmuna and Mahāpurṇa were historical persons, and the former has left many important works. The first three teachers are evidently mythological.

(2) *Haṁsa-sampradāya*

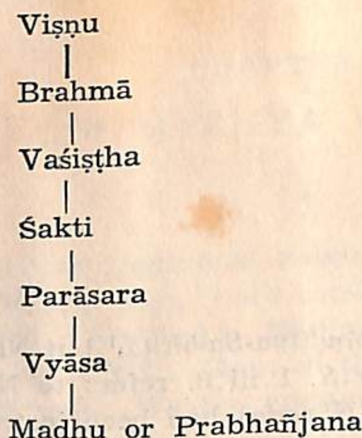
Viṣṇu as Haṁsa
|
Brahmā
|
Kumāras
|
Nārada
|
Nimbārka

This list is found in the *Sāṇḍilya-Saṁhitā*,[1] but Nimbārka himself in his commentary on *Br.S.* 1.iii.8. refers to Nārada as his preceptor, and states that he (Nārada) had been instructed by the Kumāras, his (Nimbārka's) *paramācaryas* (*Paramācāryaiḥ Śrī-Kumārair aṣmad gurave Śrīman-Naradāy=opadiṣṭo*). The 'Kumāras' in this passage, has been interpreted by Swāmī Santadāsa Vrajavidehī as Sanatkumāra etc.

As we have already noted, Sanatkumāra is mentioned both in the Nārāyaṇīya section (336.36-39) and the *Bh.P.* (III. viii, 2-9); while the Nārāyaṇīya section states that Sanatkumāra learnt from Brahmā, according to the *Bh.P.*, he learnt from Saṁkarṣaṇa, but Sanatkumāra's disciple Sāṁkhyāna is called the chief of the Paramahaṁsa-religion (*Sāṁkhyāyanaḥ pāramahaṁsya-mukhyo, Bh.P.* III, viii, 8). Discrepancies in the three versions are to be expected, what is surprising is that Nimbārka's claim to high antiquity should find a modicum of support from scriptures.

These are undoubtedly very unsatisfactory and can hardly be called evidence in historical sense, but the strange fact remains that of all the *vaiṣṇava* teachers Nimbārka alone eludes historical research.[2] Secondly even his personal details are controversial. S. N. Das Gupta on the basis of Harivyāsadeva's commentary on Nimbārka's *Daśa-ślokī* states that his father's name was Jagannātha and his mother's name was Sarasvatī. According to Gopinath Kaviraj, however, Nimbārka's father was Aruṇi Muni and his mother was called Jayantī. Radhakrishnan states that Nimbārka was a Telugu *brāhmaṇa* who was born in Nimba or Nimbapura in the Bellary district but lived in Vṛindāvana, and in a foot-note adds that there is also a view that he was born in Vṛindāvana on the Yamunā river.[3] It is, therefore, evident that no reliable information about Nimbārka is available.

(3) *Brahma-Sampradāya*



Madhva is known to be an incarnation of Vāyu or Prabhañjana, and it is claimed that he learnt his doctrine from Vyāsa. However, unlike Nimbārka's Madhva's identity can be satisfactorily established. He was the son of Madhyageha Bhaṭṭa a resident of village Rajatapīṭha (modern Kalyāṇapura) near Udīpī, about forty miles west of Śriṅgerī. It is admitted on good grounds that he died at the age of seventy-eight or seventy-nine, but while some scholars place his date of birth in 1199, others place the same event in 1238, not a very significant difference.

(4) *Rudra-Sampradāya*

The compilation of the teacher's list of this sect presents some difficulties. For, though it is generally agreed that Viṣṇu related the creed of this sect to Rudra, it appears that later it was revealed to one Viṣṇusvāmin, who flourished long before Vallabha. This Viṣṇusvāmin is a historical person, but it has been suggested that there were three Viṣṇusvāmins.[4] The issue becomes more complicated by the fact pointed out by Das Gupta, that though Viṣṇusvāmin is known from other sources, 'Vallabha himself, however, never refers to Viṣṇusvāmin as the originator of his system'.[5] Vallabha's life is, however, fairly well known; his great-grandfather was Gaṁgādhara Bhaṭṭa, his grandfather Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa, and his father Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa, while his mother's name was Illamāguru. He was born either in 1479 or 1481 and died in 1532 or 1533.

It is evident that all the four sects were (and are) claiming divine origin. The reason may be that like the kings of medieval India, it had become fashionable to claim mythical origin; but the possibility cannot be precluded of their really being ancient sects of which the names of the original founders were lost, and of which

garbled versions are preserved in the Nārāyaṇīya Section and the *Bh.P.* The real difference between these sects are due to their interpretation of the *Br.S.*, and it is well-known, that though Śaṁkara's interpretation is the earliest extant commentary, there were several pre-Śaṁkara commentators. For example Rāmānuja mentions Ṭaṁka, Dramiḍa, Guhadeva and Bhāruci as his *pūrvācāryas* in his *Vedārtha-Saṁgraha* (p. 154). It would not be surprising, therefore, for the dogma of these sects to have been really very ancient, and handed down from generation to generation till a permanent intellectual framework was provided by the four great teachers, namely, Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Madhva and Vallabha.

Since we are discussing the list of teachers, we might as well give the list of teachers of the Lion of Vedānta, which is traditionally as follows:

Vyāsa
|
Śuka
|
Gauḍapāda
|
Govindapāda
|
Śaṁkara

This list, even if we ignore Vyāsa and Śuka, raises some chronological problem, which can be solved if one accepts the list of Śaṁkara's teachers found among the *Tripurā-Sampradāya* which is as follows:

Gauḍapāda
|
Pāvaka
|
Parācārya
|
Satyanidhi
|
Rāmacandra
|
Govinda
|
Śaṁkara[6]

The list of teachers is extremely important from the religious point. For, very ancient tradition and scriptural injunctions make

it obligatory on any individual who reads the Vedas to learn the name of the *deva, ṛṣi, chandas* and *viniyoga* of each mantra. *Ṛṣi* or *brāhmaṇa* means the *ācārya-paramparā*, while *devatā-tattva* means the metaphysical conclusions. Therefore, to establish a new sect it is obligatory to claim an entirely new line of teachers, and to produce a definite treatise on metaphysics, which in the case of the *vaiṣṇavas* meant an independent commentary on the *Br.S.* Caitanya did neither; hence his sect had to be affiliated with the Madhva sect to which his preceptor probably belonged, though there was serious doctrinal difference between Caitanya and Madhva. In the 18th century Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa wrote a new commentary on behalf of Caitanya's sect, still the Madhva affiliation could not but be affirmed, possibly because Caitanya did not claim to belong to any recognized line of teachers other than Īśvara Puri whose preceptor Mādhavendra Puri is said to have belonged to the Mādhva sect. There is therefore still some doubt as to whether Caitanya started a new sect, or represented a new line of thought in the Mādhva sect; and actually some of his followers call themselves Mādhva-Gauḍīya. But in spite of the fact that Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa in his *Govindabhāṣya* has reiterated his sect's affiliation and indebtedness to Madhva, it seems to us preferable to treat Caitanya's sect as a new one. This point has been discussed in Chapter XXII.

It is now necessary to give a brief account of the position of Vedānta philosophy before Caitanya. It may also be stated here that all the *vaiṣṇava* sects including Caitanya's were really, what may be called *vedānta*-sects each claiming that its interpretation was the correct one. However, there was one meeting ground, that was their opposition to Śaṁkara's monism.

The Upaniṣads contain contradictory statements, yet the attempt of all the commentators has been to interpret them consistently. In order to do so Śaṁkara selected four statements from four principal Upaniṣads, one from each Veda, and called them *mahāvākyas.* They are: (1) *Prajñānam Brahma* (*Aitareya*, III. 3; *Ṛg,-veda*); *Tat tvam asi* (*Chāndogya*, VI, viii, 7 *Sāma-veda*); *Ahaṁ Brahmāsmi* (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, I. iv. 10; *Yajur-veda*); *Ayam ātmā Brahma* (*Māṇḍūkya*, 2. *Atharva veda*). It is on the basis of these four statements that Śaṁkara based his philosophy, and interpreted not only the principal Upaniṣads, but also the *Br. S.* and the *Gītā*. He was not unaware of the conflicting statements in the *Upaniṣads*, for interpreting *Br. S.* I.i.11, (*Śrutatvācca*) he states unequivocally: *dvi-rūpaṁ hi Brahm=āvagamyate nāma-rūpa-vikāra-bhed-opādhi-viśiṣṭaṁ tad viparītam ca sarv-opādhi-vivarjitam.*[7] Then after giving examples from the Upaniṣads he states; *iti c=aivaṁ sahasraśo vidy-*

āvidyā-viṣayabhedena Brahmaṇo dvirūpatāṁ darśayanti vākyāṇi; tatr-āvidy-āvasthāyāṁ Brahmaṇa upāsy-opāsakādi-lakṣaṇaḥ sarvo vyvahāraḥ[8] . . . .

This simple statement seems to clarify the position of the Upaniṣads, and it may be noted that this was the position adopted by Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa. The *vaiṣṇavas,* however, took great exception to it, because of the last part of the statement where Śaṁkara practically calls all the dualists as abiding in *'avidyā'*. This, the *vaiṣṇavas* point out is merely Śaṁkara's opinion and as it is not found in the Upaniṣads or any scripture—which is a fact,—must be disregarded with the contempt such obiter dictum deserves.

The fact is that the position taken by Śaṁkara and that taken by the *vaiṣṇavas* are practically irreconcilable. For example Śaṁkara in his commentary on *Br.S.* I.iii.19 declares: *yāvad eva hi sthānāv=iva puruṣa-buddhiṁ dvaita-lakṣaṇām=avidyāṁ nivartayan kūṭastha-nitya-dṛk-svarūpam-ātmānaṁ ahaṁ Brahm=āsm=īti na pratipadyate tāvaj=Jīvasya jīvatvam.*[9]

As against this we may quote a verse ascribed to Hanumat, the great *bhakta,* by Rūpa Gosvāmin in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu.* (I. Purva. v. 54):

> *bhava-bandha-cchide tasmai spṛhayāmi na muktaye*
> *bhavān prabur ahaṁ dāsa iti yatra vilupyate*[10]

This epitomizes the attitude of the *vaiṣṇavas,* for all of them want to enjoy some sort of association with the Lord, and Madhva particularly denies the existence of a state where the individual soul can be united with Brahman. As we shall see later, Caitanya does not deny such a possibility, but calls it a low form of salvation.

To the *vaiṣṇavas,* the sense of 'I', the ego is not a mere quality extraneously imposed in the self, but the very nature of the self. The notion of 'I' is false when it is identified with the body and other sense-objects, and when it arouses pride and boastfulness. Then the 'I' becomes *ahaṁkāra,* which is a false notion or sentiment and has been denounced in the scriptures. But not the 'I', when it refers to the self,—for example, 'I' am the slave of Lord'—is the most accurate notion that one can have. In the *madhura-bhāva* of the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas,* the 'I' sense and 'my' sense can have further modification. Even Candrāvalī, who is nearest to Rādhā among the *gopīs,* is imbued with the idea, 'I am Kṛṣṇa's;' but Rādhā says 'Kṛṣṇa is mine'. Hence Rādhā is superior.

Another important point on which the *vaiṣṇavas* differ with Śaṁkara, is the conception of *Śakti,* or energy. Śaṁkara does not

deny the existence of Brahman's *śakti;* in his commentary on *Br.S.* I.i.1 he states: *nitya-śuddha buddha—mukta-svabhāvaṁ sarvajñaṁ sarva-śakti-samanvitam* (*Brahma.*).

In his commentary on *Br.S.* II. 1.14, he has admitted the existence of *māyā-śakti* as follows:

> *sarvajñasy=eśvarasy=ātmabhuta iv=āvidyā-kalpite nāma-rūpe tattv—ānyatvābhyām anirvacanīye saṁsāra-prapañca-bīja-bhūte sarvajñasy=eśvarasya māyā-śaktiḥ prakrtir=iti ca śruti-smrtyor= abhilapyete.*[11]

Similarly in commenting on *Br. S.* II. i.37 (*Sarva-dharm-opapateś=ca*) he ends the section by stating: *sarvajñam sarva-śakti mahā-māyaṁ ca Brahma iti.*

Almost similarly he writes in his introduction to the *Gītā*: *sa ca bhagavān aiśvarya-śakti-bala-vīrya-tejobhiḥ sadā sampannas triguṇātmikāṁ vaṣṇavīṁ svāṁ māyām mūlạ-prakṛti vaśīkṛtya ajo' vyayo bhūtānāṁ īśvaro nitya-śuddha-buddha-mukta-svabhāvo'pi san sva-māyayā dehavān iva jāta iva ca lokān anugrahaṁ kurvan iva lakṣyate.*[12]

Before we proceed further we must state that Śaṁkara's followers have explained all the apparent contradictions in the statements noted above, and we are merely presenting the *vaiṣṇava* criticism of his standpoint by isolating his statements. The *vaiṣṇavas*, for example, take very great exception to Śaṁkara's statement '*dehavān iva jāta iva* (as if he were born, as if he took a body) in relation to Śrī-Kṛṣna, who they point out was a real person, an *avatāra*. But to Śaṁkara, even a person is a *māyā*, for everything except the ultimate reality, Brahman, is unreal.

Now, we come to Śaṁkara's doctrine of *māyā*, for which he has been soundly berated by all the *vaiṣṇavas*, who indeed call his doctrine derisively as *māyāvāda* and declare:

> *māyāvādam asac-chạtraṁ pracchannaṁ bauddhaṁ ucyate*
> *may=aiva vihatam devī kalau brāhmaṇa-mūrtinā*[13]

We have already pointed out that, it is impossible to harmonize the Vedānta texts without the interposition of a supra-rational category, and in Śaṁkara's system this was *māyā*. Though in the passages quoted above he has mentioned *māyā-śakti*, yet in his scheme of Undifferentiated Brahman, there cannot be any *śakti*, though once he postulated the possibility of the relationship of *śakti* and *śaktimat.*[14] However, as for *māyā*, Śaṁkara never defined it, though it is usually explained as *sad-asad-anirvacanīya*, a

term which is not found either in his commentary on the *Br.S.* or on the *Gītā*, However, by *anirvacanīya*, that is 'indefinable' the Śaṁkarites mean something that appears in perception but is ultimately contradicted; which in other words mean that in relation to ultimate reality *śakti* is a negligible factor, ontologically indefinable, therefore contradicted or false but real in relation to the phenomenal world. But this distinction, which is vital for understanding Śaṁkara's system of philosophy is ignored by the *vaiṣṇavas*, for this is not a logically sound position.

As Das Gupta has remarked, 'Śaṁkara had to explain these (*Br.S.*) passages, and he did not always use strictly absolutist phrases; for, as he admitted three kinds of existence, he could talk in all kinds of phraseology, but one needed to be warned of the phraseology that Śaṁkara had in view at the time, and this was not always done. The result has been that there are at least some passages which appear by themselves to be realistically theistic, others which are ambiguous and may be interpreted both ways, and others again which are professedly absolutist."[15] Actually it seems that, partly from inherent difficulty and partly under pressure of criticism from the *vaiṣṇavas*, Śaṁkara's followers had to elaborate on his original thesis, resulting in the development of various schools of monism. Still the distinction between them and the *vaiṣṇavas* remained as wide as ever; a monist, also known as a *jñāna-mārgī*, concentrates on himself and seeks to identify himself with Brahman rejecting everything else as unreal; but to a *vaiṣṇava*, or a *bhakti-mārgī*, as he is called, nothing in unreal (*anātman*) to him; not only his self, but the entire world is a manifestation of Brahman; his devotion, therefore, is all-embracing; he does not become *ānanda* (bliss) but *ānandī* the enjoyer of bliss. Therefore for a *bhakti-mārgī* subject, object and knowledge never becomes one, a trace of ego persists in the subject so that he may consciously enjoy bliss.

As to the *mokṣa* of Śaṁkara, it is necessary to point out that he is in some difficulty in explaining *Br. S.* IV. iv. 4 where he has to explain *Chāndogya* VIII, vii, 3., but we need not go into that. But Br. S. IV. iv. 17. (*jagad-vyāpāra-varjaṁ prakaraṇād=asaṁnihitvāc=ca*) taken literally would seem to favour *vaiṣṇava* interpretation.

We have stated the general criticism levelled against Śaṁkara by the *vaiṣṇava* scholars, and it should be clearly understood that we did not attempt to present the *advaita* point of view. The duty of a historian is to present things as they happened and not as they should have happened. We have therefore stated his opponent's

view. But lest there should be any reader not conversant with the Ācārya's works, we should again reiterate the historical fact that, he was the father of modern *vedānta* movement. It was he, who selected the *vedānta* texts, the *prasthāna-trayī*, (10 or 11 principal *Upaniṣads*, *Br. S.* and the *Gītā*), it was he who set the standard of monastic life in medieval India, and it was he who rejuvenated the country with an intellectual movement which is unsurpassed not only in the history of India, but possibly in the world's history. And above all, he did all this in a language which for its diction, style, grandeur, precision and brevity probably remains unsurpassed in the history of Sanskrit language.

Here at the risk of a little digression, we would like to point out that, though the Gupta age is generally regarded as the 'golden age' of Indian history, when an Indian today talks in terms of his spiritual heritage, he is primarily referring to the age that began with Śaṁkara, fully blossomed after Rāmānuja and continued uninterruptedly till about the 17th century. Without them we would have had no understanding of the Upaniṣads, not to speak of the *Br. S.* or the *Gītā*. Within this period the Muslims conquered practically the whole of north India and penetrated into the South. But the grand intellectual and spiritual movement went on unruffled, seemingly oblivious to and independent of the political condition obtaining in the country. It may not have been the 'golden age', but it was a remarkable period in our history.[16]

Having stated some general though negative aspect of *vaiṣṇava* philosophy, we shall now give very brief accounts of the philosophy of each sect. Of these sects, the one founded by Vallabha cannot be called pre-Caitanya, for they were contemporaries, still we include Vallabha's philosophy here, for the sake of convenience.

I. *Śrī-sampradāya of Rāmānuja.*

Rāmānuja's philosophy is known as *Viśiṣṭādvaita* or qualified monism. According to this theory, there are three eternal principles, namely *cit* (conscious), *acit* (unconscious) and Īśvara. Of them Īśvara is *viśeṣya* (substance) or *aṁgī* (body, that is, principal) and *cit* and *acit* are his *viśeṣaṇa* (adjectives) or *aṁga* (limbs, that is subordinate). Īśvara is always characterized (*viśiṣṭa*) by *cit* (self conscious souls) and *acit* (inert matter). During creation *cit* and *acit* are gross, that is, they have attributes; during dissolution, they exist in a fine form, without such attributes. *Cit* is *ātman* (self), distinct from the physical body; it is also self-evident, *nitya* (eternal), atomic, (as distinguished from Śaṁkara's *vibhu* 'all-pervad-

ing') beyond sense perception, formless, and changeless. *Ātman* is knowledge, but is also knower. Or, as Rāmānuja puts it (*Br. S.* I. i. 1) 'Though the self is itself of the nature of consciousness, yet, just as one entity of light exists both as the light and as the rays emanating from it, so can it be regarded both as consciousness and as possessor of consciousness.' It is always controlled by Īśvara. Action and its result are different forms of or extension of knowledge, hence *ātman* can not only be the knower, but the doer and the enjoyer as well. *Ātman's* subjectiveness (*kartṛtva*) is due to its contact with the reals (*guṇas*), and under all circumstances is controlled by Īśvara. But all imperfections and sufferings belong not to Īśvara (Brahman), but only to the sentient and non-sentient beings (*cit* and *acit*) which are its modes. It has some independence (*svatantra-śakti*) but even that is a gift of Īśvara, and ultimately depends on Him. The case is analogous to that of property of which two men are joint owners. If one of them wishes to transfer that property to a third person, he cannot do so without the permission of his partner; but that permission is given is after all his own doing, and hence the fruit of the action (reward or anything) properly belongs to him only. Therefore real freedom of the soul or the main goal of the individual is *kaiṁkarya*, that is, absolute servitude to Īśvara which is real deliverance, brought about by surrender to Him—that is *prapatti*.

Ātman can be bound (*baddha*), free (*mukta*), or eternal (*nitya*). There are infinite number of each of them. By contact with *prakṛti* or *acit*, nescience, desire, and action are produced in the *ātman*, and these are destroyed when the contact is released.

Acit or *jaḍa-tattva* is liable to transformation. There are three types of *jaḍa-padārtha*, *śuddha-sattva* (*pure-sattva*), *miśra-sattva* (mixed *sattva*) and *kāla* (time). *Śuddha-sattva* is unblemished *sattva*, untouched by *rajas* or *tamo-guṇa*, hence it is eternal, pure, and produces knowledge and bliss. Under the Lord's will, this *tattva* transforms itself into substances out of which are built the eternal *dhāmans* (Hindu counterpart of heaven, a transformation of Viṣṇu's *parama-padaṁ*). According to some, *śuddha-sattva* is not *jaḍa*.

Miśra-sattva is compound of *rajas* and *tamas*, and forms the veil which covers the knowledge and bliss of the earth-bound souls (*baddha-jīva*). It is also *nitya* (eternal) and subserves Īśvara in His creation of the phenomenal world. It is also the cause of anti-knowledge and in course of time and space produces all worthy and unworthy transformations. Ultimately it developes into the twenty-four *tattvas*.

That part of *acit* which is bereft of *sattva* and untramelled by the *guṇas* is *kāla* (time). It is the effective agent which brings about the consequential changes in *prakṛti* and its substances. All dissolution depends on *kāla*. In His *līlā* (supra-mundane) aspect, Īśvara's action is determined by *kāla*, but in His *nitya* (eternal) aspect *kāla* has no influence on Him, even though it still subsists.

Īśvara is the fundamental essence, that is prime *tattva*. He is the ultimate rest or support of *cit* and *acit* and they are all held in Him (*āśraya*). He is the soul of both *cit* and *acit*, which form his body, and cannot exist independently of Īśvara. Īśvara is the embodiment of infinite knowledge, and bliss, possessor of infinite propitious qualities, creator, controller and destroyer of the world, protector of the devotee, bestower of rewards for action, and untouched by fault and is not liable to any transformation. All the changes and transformations take place in the body of Īśvara and not in His essence. Lakṣmī, Bhū and Līlā are his *śaktis*. His beauty is changeless, possessed of unlimited lustre, and is indicative of his essential nature which attracts everyone, and a vision of which induces a cessation of wordly desires, and heals all miseries. Those who are eternally free from earthly bondage are in constant rapport with Him. An *Avatāra,* who comes down to earth to establish religion, is produced from His body.

Rāmānuja, as has been already noted, accepts the Pañcarātra doctrine of the *vyūhas* and according to him, Vāsudeva is the highest Brahman and the highest cause; from Him originates the individual soul called Saṁkarṣaṇa; from Saṁkarṣaṇa emerges the internal organ called Pradyumna, and from Pradyumna comes out the principle of egoity called Aniruddha. This evolution is due to the fact that Vāsudeva, the highest Brahman, from kindness to those devoted to Him, voluntarily abides in a four-fold form, so as to render Himself accessible to the devotees. Vāsudeva has for His body the complete aggregation of the six qualities, and divides Himself in so far as it is either the subtle (*sūkṣma*), or division (*vyūha*) or manifestation (*vibhava*) and is attained in His fulness by the devotees who, according to their qualifications, do worship to it by means of work guided by knowledge. From the worship of the *vibhava*-aspect one attains to the *vyūha,* and from the worship of the *vyūha* one attains Vāsudeva. *Vibhava* means the aggregate of beings, that is *avatāras*, such as Rāma, Kṛṣṇa etc. Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha are mere bodily forms which Vāsudeva voluntarily assumes.

Lord is also *antaryāmin,* that is, inner controller. In this state He is the companion and guide of every individual soul, and abides in the individual's lotus-like heart.

These four categories, namely, Parā or Vāsudeva, the four *vyūhas*, the *vibhavas* and *antaryāmin* together with *arcā* or the idol, that is the deity, are the five forms of the Lord.

Swāmī Vidyāraṇya has pointed out that, though Rāmānuja had accepted parts of Pañcarātra doctrine, his theory of evolution is based on Vedānta, which is entirely different from that of Pañcarātra. Secondly, though Rāmānuja has accepted the authority of the *Pauṣkara-saṁhitā* and the *Parama-saṁhitā*, he has rejected their view that there is no difference between Brahman and a liberated soul.[17]

According to Veṁkaṭanātha, Rāmānuja's greatest exponent, *bhakti,* or devotion is 'meditation with affection'.[18] Rāmānuja himself says (*Br.S.* I. i. 1) that, steady remembrance (*dhruva-smṛti*) is *bhakti* and has the same meaning as *upāsanā* (prayer or meditation). This steady remembrance or meditation is obtained through abstention (*viveka*), freeness of mind (*vimoka*) through repetition (*abhyāsa*), works (*kriyā*), virtuous conduct (*kalyāṇa*), freedom from dejection (*anavasāda*), absence of exultation (*anuddharṣa*), according to feasibility and scriptural statement. *Viveka* means keeping the body clean from all food impure either owing to species (*jāti*, such as *kalañja*, that is a bird or animal killed by a poisonous arrow) or abode (*āśraya*, food belonging to a *caṇḍāla* or the like, that is, sinners), or accidental cause (*nimitta*, such as food in which a hair or the like has fallen).[19]

Vimoka or freeness of mind means absence of attachment to desires. *Abhyāsa* or repetition means continued practice (*Gītī*, VIII, 6). *Kriyā* or works means the performance, according to one's own ability, of the five great sacrifices. By *kalyāṇa* or virtuous conducts are meant truthfulness, honesty, kindness, liberality, gentleness and absence of covetousness. *Anavasāda* or freedom from dejection means a state of mind contrary to the lowness of spirit or want of cheerfulness which results from unfavourable conditions of place or time and the remembrance of causes of sorrow (*Muṇḍaka* III, ii, 4). 'Exultation' is that satisfaction of mind which springs from circumstances opposite to those just mentioned; the contrary is *anuddharṣa* or 'absence of exultation'.

From this it appears that, according to Rāmānuja, mind becomes purified by the performance of actions according to one's caste and stage in life, which help to produce *bhakti* or *jñāna*. But

merits and demerits are hindrances for the birth of *jñāna,* being generators of *rajas* and *tamas guṇas,* and should be always forsaken.[20]

Rāmānuja's philosophy, was firmly based on Vedānta in which the Pañcarātra was admitted but his doctrine derived its sustenance from the songs of the *vaiṣṇava* saints called Āḻvārs who lived in south India between 6th to 8th centuries of the Christian era. Their songs are largely based on the lives of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa and their basic emotions are traditionally associated with Vaiṣṇavism, namely, servant's devotion for the master (*dāsya)* friendly love (*sakhya*), mother's affection for her child (*vātsalya*) and also of a female lover for her beloved (*mādhurya*). For example Peyāḻvār conceives himself as Yaśodā and describes Kṛṣṇa as lying in the dust and calling for the moon. The Āḻvār poetess, Āṇḍāl, conceives herself as a *Gopī,* requesting her friends to go with her to wake the sleeping Kṛṣṇa. In Āṇḍāl's songs we come across one particular lover or wife of Kṛṣṇa called Nappinnāi, who was most probably an early prototype of Rādhā.[21]

It is not possible to establish on historical evidence any link between the Āḻvārs and Caitanya. He had started his movement of intense devotion—with particular emphasis on the *mādhurya* aspect—even before he went to South India. It is, however, quite possible that his *parama-guru* (preceptor's preceptor) Mādhavendra Puri was influenced by the Āḻvārs. Not only he had visited South India (for all we know he might have been a southerner), but unlike a Mādhva ascetic, which he is said to have been, he was a devotee of great emotional capacity. Thus it is possible that the seed of emotional devotion was transplanted by Mādhavendra from the South to Bengal, and the sapling was nourished to maturity during Caitanya's long tour of South India.

II. *Haṁsa-sampradāya of Nimbārka.*

Nimbārka's school of philosophy is known as *Bhedābheda* or *Dvaitādvaita,* that is, difference-in-identity. The main tenets of his school was expounded by him in his commentary on the *Br.S.* known as the *Vedānta-pārijāta-saurabha,* (the scent of the celestial flower of the Vedānta), and for our present purpose it will be sufficient to quote from a few statements from his commentary to understand his position.

According to Nimbārka, in *Br.S.* II, iii, 42, namely *aṁśo nānā-vyapadesād=anyathā c=āpi dāśa-kitav-āditvaṁ adhīyata eke,*[22] the Sūtrakāra is showing the *aṁśāṁśī bhāva* or the *bhed-ābheda-bhāva* between the individual soul and Paramātman. *Jīva* is a part (*aṁśa*)

of Paramātman; for the *Svetāsvatara Upaniṣad* (I. 9) states *jñā-jñau dv-ājāv-īśaniśau*' (both *jña* and *ajña*—Īśvara and Jīva are eternal and indestructible). On the other hand the Upaniṣads also have stated their identity or non-difference in such statements as *tat-tvam asi* (That thou art; *Chāndogya*). The *Atharvan* goes to the extent of declaring that the fishermen, slaves and dishonest people are also Brahman.

It may be noted that Śaṁkara here agrees that this aphorism establishes the *bhed-ābheda* doctrine, for he ends his comment by stating: *ato bhed-ābhed-āvagamābhyāṁ aṁśatv-āvagamaḥ; kutaś=ca aṁśatv-āvagamaḥ.*[23]

In commenting *Br.S.* III, ii, 22, namely, *prakṛtaitāvattvaṁ hi pratiṣedhati tato bravīti ca bhūyaḥ,*[24] Nimbārka quotes from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* which states that 'Brahman has indeed two forms, the formed (*amūrta*), the mortal and the immortal, the stationary and the moving, the actual (*sat*) (perceptible) and the yon (*tya*, imperceptible). He also quotes '*neti neti*' from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (II. iii. 6), which states: *athātaḥ adeśaḥ neti neti, na hy-etasmād iti nety-anyat-param asti.*[25] Svāmī Santadās Vrajavidehī, head of the Nambārka monastic order, has construed it syntactically as: '*hi* (wherefore) *Brahmaṇaḥ etasmāt* (than this, i.e. what has been said before) *anyat param* (other and beyond, that is better form) *na asti* (does not exist) *iti na* (is not, that is, is not to be understood); *anyat param* (better than this, that is, better from than this) *asty=eva* (indeed exists).' Here Nimbārka radically differs from Śaṁkara, who established on the basis of this statement of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* that Brahman is undifferentiated.

Nimbārka then establishes his thesis on the basis of *Br. S.* III, ii. 24, namely, *api ca saṁrādhane pratyakṣānumānābhyām.*[26] Here *saṁrādhanam* has been taken by both Nimbārka and Śaṁkara as *bhakti-yoga*, from which it follows that Brahman can be apprehended through *bhakti*.

Nimbārka's position is further strengthened by *Br.S.* III, ii. 27: *ubhaya-vyapdesāt tv=ahi-kuṇḍalavat.*[27] According to him, this aphorism strengthens the dual nature of Brahman in its form and formless aspects. Just as the form of a coiled snake is hidden from view and is only exposed when it stretches itself, similarly the phenomenal world is hidden from view during dissolution and takes its shape only on creation, but in both the states abides in Brahman. Śaṁkara's comment on this aphorism is: '. . . As thus difference and non-difference are equally vouched for by scriptures, the acceptation of absolute non-difference would render futile all those texts

which speak of difference. We therefore look on the relation of the highest-self and the soul as analogous to that of snake and its coils. Viewed as a whole, the snake is one, non-different, while an element of difference appears if we view it with regard to its coils, hood, erect posture and so on.'[28]

According to Nimbārka, there are three categories, *cit*, *acit*, and Brahman. *Cit* is individual soul, different from insentient objects like the body et cetera; it is of the nature of consciousness (*jñāna svarūpa*), and also its resting-place (*āśraya*)[29]; hence the *Jīva* is always the knower. It is atomic, subject to ego and possessed of the power of acting or as a spontaneous agency (*kartṛtva*). The individual soul differs in each body and is capable of being bound or free. The Lord is the inner controller of every *jīva*, who is His concomitant, is supported by Him, and is dependent on Him. There are three kinds of *jīvas*, namely, those that are eternally free, others who have gained freedom from bondage, and the rest who are bound to the cycle of life and death. In the free state, the individual soul feels or enjoys the Brahman though remaining in a state of non-difference.

The *acit* has no existence independent of Brahman. It has three categories, namely, (1) *prākṛta*, (2) *aprākṛta* and (3) *kāla*,[30] that is (1) derived from primal matter which is the container of three *guṇas;* (2) not so derived; (3) time. Nimbārka's *prākṛta* is like Sāṁkhya's *Prakṛti,* the difference being that it is subject to the Lord's control. *Aprākṛta* is the purest *sattva;* it is also non-sentient but entirely different from *prākṛta* and *kāla* and is the stuff of which the celestial world like *Viṣṇu-pada, para-vyoman Brahma-loka* et cetera are made. *Kāla* is eternal and all pervasive (*vibhu*) and is the basic principle of the cosmic destiny. All empirical knowledge is subordinate to *kāla,* and though it regulates and controls everything, it is under the complete control of the Lord.

Śrī-Kṛṣṇa or Vāsudeva is Brahman. He is faultless, combination and repository of all the virtues, the essence of truth and intelligence, and *sac-cit-ānanda* (existence, knowledge and bliss); His power (*śakti*) is unthinkable and infinite; he is *Gopī-kānta* (Beloved of the *Gopīs*) as well as *Ramā-nātha* (Lord of Ramā). *Gopī* is the presiding deity of *preman* (love) while Ramā or Lakṣmī is the presiding deity of majesty. So the Lord is the abode of both *aiśvarya* (majesty) and *mādhurya* (belovedness). Satyabhāmā of the *Purāṇas* is Ramā or *Bhūśakti.* The Lord is attainable by the freed souls; He is the object of meditation by the *yogins;* He is kind, affectionate and compassionate towards His devotees; He is worshipped by

Brahmā and other gods; He is the bestower of the results of action; He is the enjoyer of the religious sacrifices; He is the only subject of inquiry for those who desire salvation (*mumukṣu*). Like His essence, His body also is the repository of infinite blessed qualities. His bodily characteristics are extreme beauty, delicacy, charm, sweet scent, et cetera; His bodies are eternal like the *ātman*. In the state of bondage, the eternal body of a *jīva* remains veiled, but when due to the Lord's grace, he is freed from bondage by perceiving Him, he is detached from his contact with *prakṛti*, and regains eternal (*nitya-siddha*) body. Just as during a festival, the servants get pre-determined liveries et cetera from the king, so on coming out of the shackles of *prakṛti*, a *jīva* receives from the Lord his pre-determined (*pūrva-siddha*), eternal, changeless body, suited to the service of the Lord. But even in this emancipated state, there is a difference between the emancipated beings and the Lord, though in this state the former are filled with utmost bliss.[31]

The view of Rāmānuja and his followers is that the souls and the inanimate world are associated with the Lord as His qualities. But since there is nothing to differentiate, the concept of the souls and matter as quality also fails. In Nimbārka's view, Śrī Kṛṣṇa is the Lord, the ultimate Brahman, and He is the support of the universe consisting of the souls and matter which are derived from Him and are absolutely under His control and dependent on Him for their existence. Thus while Rāmānuja considers that the soul and the matter qualify the Brahman and are in that sense one with it, Nimbārka repudiates the concept of a permanent modification of the nature of Brahman by the souls, (*cit*) and matter (*acit*).

Nimbārka developed the *līlā* aspect of the Lord, which even Śaṁkara had to concede due to the aphorism in the *Br.S.* (II. i. 33) *lokavat tu līlā-kaivalyam*.[32] The deity worshipped by Nimbārka's sect is Kṛṣṇa as a cowherd accompanied by Rādhā. Here also he differs from Rāmānuja who worshipped Śrī and Nārāyaṇa.

As we shall see later, Caitanya's doctrine had more in common with Nimbārka's than with that of any other *vaiṣṇava* sect. One Keśavācārya, who is said to have been Caitanya's contemporary also wrote a commentary on Nimbārka's *Vedānta-pārijāta-saurabha*. But though Caitanya's biographers have related his meetings with the followers of Rāmānuja and Madhva, there is no record of his ever having met any follower of Nimbārka. This is remarkable, for Caitanya toured extensively, and visited even Śaṁkara's famous monastery at Śṛṅgerī.

III. *The Brahma-sampradāya of Madhvācārya*

Madhva came as a natural reaction to Śaṁkara's uncompromising non-dualism, and it is said that, his followers avoided contact even with the shadow of an *advaita-vādin*. However, he was compelled to lay special emphasis on epistemological considerations, and it has been held that to Madhva and his followers, ontological ideas are only the implications of their epistemological positions. As in the present work, we are avoiding epistemological problems, the strength of Madhva's position will not be apparent from the following description of his doctrine.

According to Madhva, *bheda* or difference is of five kinds,[33] namely, difference (1) between individual soul (*jīva*) and Īśvara; (2) insentient objects (*jaḍa*) and Īśvara; (3) *jīva* and *jada;* (4) one *jīva* and another *jīva* and (5) between one *jaḍa* and another *jaḍa*. Madhva designates this five-fold division as *pra-pañca: prakṛṣṭaḥ pañcavidho bhedaḥ, prapañcaḥ*. Bondage is due to the false knowledge of identity or non-dualism, and deliverance can be attained only on the realization of the five kinds of difference.

Madhva has introduced the conception of ten categories (*padārtha*), namely, (1) *dravya* (substance); (2) *guṇa* (quality;) (3) *karma* (action); (4) *sāmānya* (class-character); (5) *viśeṣa* (particularity); (6) *viśiṣṭa* (qualified); (7) *aṁśī* (whole); (8) *śakti* (power); (9) *sādṛsya* (similarity) and (10) *abhāva* (negation). These categories are Madhva's greatest contribution to Vedānta philosophy.

1. Among these categories, *dravya* has been subdivided into twenty forms: (i) *Paramātman;* (ii) *Lakṣmī;* (iii) *jīva;* (iv) *avyākṛt-ākāśa* (unmanifested vacuity); (v) *prakṛti;* (vi) the three *guṇas;* (vii) *mahat;* (viii) *ahaṁkāra* (ego); (ix) *buddhi* (intelligence); (x) *manas* (mind); (xi) *indriyas* (the senses); (xii) *bhūtas* (the elements); (xiii) *tan-mātras* (the element-potentials); (xiv) *Brahmāṇḍa* (xv) *avidyā* (ignorance); (xvi) *varṇa* (speech-sounds); (xvii) *andhakāra* (darkness); (xviii) *vāsanā* (tendencies) (xix) *kāla* (time); (xx) *pratibimba* (reflections).

(i) *Paramātman* is the fulness of infinite qualities. It is impossible to state or even to think of His essential nature. He is the lord of creation, maintenance, destruction, control, knowledge, bondage, salvation, and obscuration. His qualities, such as knowledge et cetera are infinite times more than that of Lakṣmī and others. He has a body, but it is not material, and is composed of *cit* and *ānanda*. He is independent, everyone else is dependent, that is, dependent on another in point of existence, knowledge and activity, like Lakṣmī's dependendence on Brahmā. The individual souls are

sentient, but are always dependent, because they are limited both by space and in attributes.

(ii) Lakṣmī is different from Paramātman, and is only under His control. Brahmā and others are Lakṣmī's children and during dissolution are absorbed in her, whence it follows that Brahmā and others are under the control of Lakṣmī as of Paramātman. Lakṣmī, being strengthened by the glance of the Lord, performs the eightfold work of creation et cetera, mentioned above. In respects of dearness to, devotion to, and knowledge of the Lord, Lakṣmī is million times superior to the free-souls. Like the Lord, Lakṣmī is eternally free and replete with virtues; but even so and in spite of her having all her desires fulfilled, she always worships the Lord, and is therefore the ideal of the devotees. Being possessed of all the virtues and qualities, Lakṣmī also may be indicated by the word *sarva*, but primarily this word is applicable only to the Lord. Lakṣmī has various forms like Śrī, Bhū, Durgā, Hrī, Dakṣiṇā, Sītā, Jayantī, Bhṛṇī, Satyā, Rukminī et cetera; indeed she has infinite forms. Like the Lord's, Lakṣmī's body is also made of non-material *cit* and is eternal. She is not limited by time or space, but unlike the Lord, she is limited by *guṇa*.

(iii) The *jīva* (individual soul) is limited by ignorance, misery, fear and delusion. Even Brahmā is not entirely free from their contamination. But these are not permanent in Brahmā, as they are in Rudra. Brahmā's delusion is not due to false knowledge but to the absence of immediate knowledge.

The *Jīvas* are infinite in number. They are divided into three *gaṇas* (groups), namely, *mukti-yogya*, *nitya-saṁsārī* and *tamo-yogya*. *Mukti-yogya-jīvas* are of five kinds: (1) gods like Brahmā, Vāyu and others; (2) *ṛṣis like Nārada* and others; (3) *pitṛs* like Viśvāmitra and others; (4) *cakravartins* like Raghu, Ambarīṣa and others; and (5) *uttama-manusya*, or excellent men, that is those who are devoted to the Lord. *Nitya-saṁsārī* or *madhyama-manuṣya* are constantly revolving round the cycle of birth and death, that is earth, heaven and hell. They are infinite in number. The *adhama-manuṣya* and demons and goblins are *tamoyogya-jīvas*. Each *jīva* is different from every other *jīva*, and even in emancipation they differ from each other in their respective merits, qualifications, desires et cetera.

Among the *mukti-yogya-jīvas*, the non-sentients are at the lowest level. Then come the beast and birds, followed by men. Among men, *brāhmaṇas* are the highest, but the *cakravartins* (great kings) are placed above the *brāhmaṇas*; indeed the *cakravartins* are

sometimes called the *adhama-deva* (worst god) or *uttama-manuṣya* (best of men). The *cakravartins* are free and enjoy a particle of Brahmā's bliss, and provide the standard or unit for measuring the Brahman's bliss in others. Hence the *cakravartins* are called *ek-ānanda-svarūpa* (he whose essential nature is of a single bliss). After the *cakravartins* come in an ascending order the *manuṣya-gandharvas, deva-gandharvas, cira-pitṛs, ājānaja-devas, karmaja-devas* et cetera. The *deva-gandharvas* are verbally ordered by the *devas*. *Siddhas, cāraṇas, kinnaras, kiṁpuruṣas, vidyādharas, yakṣas, nāgas, vetālas* et cetera have the same status as the *deva-gandharvas*. The *cira-pitṛs* like Viśvāmitra rank as high as Brahmā's son Vaśiṣṭha. *Ājānaja-devas* are the servants of the *devas*. Kārtavīrya, Pṛthu, Bharata the son of Duṣyanta, Śaśabindu, Māndhāta, Kakutstha et cetera belong to the group of *karmaja-devatā*. They are always in a state of extreme devotional fervour. There are also others, namely, nine crores of gods, various Manus, eight *gandharvas*, and ninety-two *apsarases*, who are included in this group. These divisions are intended to illustrate the proposition that, *jīvas* are naturally different, and this difference persists even after salvation.

(iv) *Avyākṛt-ākāśa* (unmanifested vacuity) is almost of the nature of Vaiśeṣika *dik* (space). It is not subject to destruction at the time of dissolution nor to creation at the time of creation; hence it is eternal. It is intuited by the *sākṣī*, and is called *pradeśa*[34] (space). The presiding deity of *avyākṛt-ākāśa* is Lakṣmī. It should be noted that *avyākṛt-ākāśa* is different from *bhūt-ākāśa* (physical space) which originates from *tamas* aspect of *ahaṁkāra*.

(v) *Prakṛti* is the direct or indirect material cause of the world. It is the direct material cause of time and the three reals (*sattva* etc.) and indirectly that of elements like *mahat* et cetera. It is beyond the three reals non-sentient, subject to modification, and producive of various evolutes. As it is the matter out of which the world is created after dissolution, it is eternal; similarly it is *vyāpaka* (all-pervading) being the matter out of which time is created. Its presiding deity is Ramā. It is the totality of the *liṁga*-body possessed by each *jīva*, but at the same time is bigger than the sum total. At the time of dissolution *prakṛti* rests alone. Then the Lord desirous of creation divides it into three reals: *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, each being double in quantity than the other respectively; the extent of *tamas* is ten times that of *mahat* (to be explained presently) and surrounds the latter.

(vi) At the beginning, pure *sattva* evolves out of *prakṛti*; later, *sattva* is contaminated with *rajas* and *tamas* producing *sattva-rajas* and *sattva-tamas* in the following proportion: in *rajo-guṇa*,

there is 1 part of *rajas* in 100 parts of *sattva* and 1/100 of *tamas;* in *tamo-guna,* there is 1 part of *tamas* in 10 parts of *sattva* and 1/10 of *rajas.* This differential state of the three evolutes is known as 'creation' and their equilibrium is 'dissolution.[35] The free souls, under the influence of *līlā,* sometimes adopt a body of pure *sattva,* and having enjoyed it to the full, discards it. As such bodies are uncontaminated with *rajas* and *tamas,* they do not suffer bondage as a result of their enjoyment.

(vii) *Mahat-tattva* is directly evolved from the three reals mentioned above. Brahmā, Vasu and his wife are the presiding deities of *mahat.* At the time of dissolution, *mahat* is divided into 12 parts, of which 10 enter *sattva* and one each in *rajas* and *tamas,* and the same proportion is maintained during creation.

(viii) *Ahaṁkāra* is produced from the *tamas* part of *mahat.* It is composed of 10 parts of *sattva,* 1 of *rajas* and 1/10 of *tamas. Ahaṁkāra* is of three kinds, *vaikārika, taijasa* and *tāmasa.* The following gods are the presiding deities of *ahaṁkāra:* Garuḍa, Indra, Śeṣa, Kāma, Rudra, and their wives, Aniruddha, Brahmā, Sarasvatī, Vasu, and Candra.

(ix) *Buddhi* also is evolved out of *mahat* and is augmented by *taijasāhaṁkāra.* There is, however, another kind of *buddhi,* which is attributive and is called *jñāna,* and is not counted as a *tattva.*

(x) *Manas* is evolved from *vaikārikāhaṁkāra.* Its presiding deities are, Rudra, Garuḍa, Seṣa, Kāma, Indra, Aniruddha, Brahmā, Sarasvatī, Vasu and Candra. The *manas* (mind) known as an *indriya* is not a *tattva.* The non-substantive *manas* is of two kinds, eternal and non-eternal. The eternal non-substantive *manas* is in the nature of essence of Paramātman, Lakṣmī and all the *jīvas* including Brahmā and others, and is known as *sākṣī.* It is of the nature of self or intelligence. The *manas* of an earth-bound soul partakes the nature of both intelligence and non-intelligence, while that of the free-souls is only of the nature of intelligence. The Lord residing in the human body enjoys through the *indriyas.* The non-eternal *manas* is external to the self, and is present in all the *jīvas* including Brahmā. Resolution and hesitation are the workings of the *manas.*

(xi) *Indriya* is also of two kinds, namely, substantive, non-eternal and non-substantive and eternal also known as *sākṣī.* Both types of *indriyas* are further sub-divided into two on the basis of knowledge (cognative) and action. The non-eternal *indriya* is produced from the *taijasāhaṁkāra.* The eternal *indriya* is of the nature of Para-

mātman, Lakṣmī and of every *jīva*, though there is some difference. However, according to Madhva, every *jīva* has its eternal and non-eternal *indriyas*, the latter being produced from *ahaṁkāra*, hence it is admitted that even Brahmā and other gods have gross *indriyas*. As noted above, the non-substantive *indriya* is of the real nature of *jīva* and is called *sākṣī*, which is the agency of cognition of all objects in the free state, though it has its uses in the state of bondage also. *Ātman, manas, mano-dharma*, pleasure and pain, *avidyā*, *kāla* and *avyākṛat-ākāśa* can be perceived by the *sākṣī*. Though *rūpa* (form) and *rasa* (taste) are subjects of direct cognition by the external *indriyas*, even these can be indirectly cognized by the *sākṣī*. All supra-sensory objects can be cognized only through the *sākṣī*.

(xii & xiii.) *Indriya* is that which has the power to flow towards its objects which are known as *tan-mātras* and are five in number, namely, *śabda* (sound), *sparṣa* (touch), *rūpa* (form), *rasa* (taste) and *gandha* (smell). These should be distinguished from the attributive aspects of five *bhūtas* namely, *ākāśa* (space), *vāyu* (air), *tejas* (fire), *ap* (water), and *kṣiti* (earth) known by the same terms. The five *bhūtas* (*ākāśa* etc.) are evolved out of the respective *tan-mātras* through the agency of the *tāmasāhaṁkāra*, and gradually decreases in size by 1/10; for example *vāyu* is one tenth of *ākāśa* and, similarly *tejas* is one tenth of *vāyu* and so on. The eternal *tan-mātras* are of the nature of the Lord.

(xiv) The size of *brahmāṇḍa* is half that of the world. This phenomenal world and others, including the unmanifest, exist like a girdle around the *brahmāṇḍa*. It is made of all the *tattvas* and is the locus to which all the substances stand related.

(xv) *Avidyā* (nescience) is created from the *tamo* part of five *bhūtas* (elements). According to the Mādhvas, though *avidyā* has been created from the five elements outside the *brahmāṇḍa*, but the Lord hurled it at Brahmā wherefore at the time of creation it emerges out of Brahmā, hence sometimes it is known as the creation of Brahmā (*Brāhmī-sṛṣṭi*). *Avidyā* is of four kinds, namely, *jīvācchādikā* (covering the individual soul), *paramācchādikā* (covering the reality), *śaivalā* (floating like the leaves of a water plant) and *māyā* (*ajñāna*, that which is responsible for the *jīva's* delusion). *Avidyā* rests in an individual and is different for each individual. Madhva does not admit the validity of a single *ajñāna* shared by all the souls. Just as Śrī is the presiding deity of *vidyā* (knowledge), so is Durgā the presiding deity of *avidyā*.

(xvi) *Varṇas* (alphabetic symbols) are fifty-one in number, and are of the nature of all the words, Vedic and non-Vedic. They are all-pervasive and eternal.

(xvii) *Andhakāra* (darkness) is also a substance, and it is not proper to say that it is the state of the absence of light. This is supported by scriptural evidence, namely, destruction of darkness by the discus of Kṛṣṇa.

(xviii) *Vāsanā* or *saṁskāra* is produced from past experience and is located in the mind. It is impossible to trace its beginnings. All the dream objects are built of *vāsanā*.

(xiv) *Kāla* is the regulator of duration, it is not undifferentiated but made of many components including knowledge; hence it is not eternal. But it is all pervasive and is the locus of everything. The character of the flow of time is of eternal nature, and all action depend for their origination on time.

(xx) *Pratibimba* (reflection) is also a separate substance. It is similar to and inseparable (*avinābhūta*) from the *bimba* (object reflected) and not a false entity. It is of two kinds, namely, eternal and non-eternal. With the exception of Paramātman, all sentient objects are His reflection and are eternal. Lakṣmī and Brahmā have also their reflections, which are also eternal. The gods of the lowest class are the reflections of gods of the highest class.

2. The qualities or *guṇas* are of the same nature as of the Vaiśeṣikas,[36] but Madhva also admits certain physical and mental qualities, described below.

Guṇa (quality) can only subsist in a substance, being incapable of independent existence. It does not include the *doṣas* (bad qualities) for, as has been noted above, the Lord has infinite *guṇas* without being associated with any bad quality. There are innumerable qualities, and their number cannot be determined.

The most important quality is *rūpa* (colour) which is seven in number, namely, white, blue, yellow, red, green, tawny, and composite (*citra*) and each of these has two forms namely, eternal and non-eternal, and two states, namely, manifest and unmanifest. All the colours inhere in Paramātman and Lakṣmī; the *jīvas* have their individual distinctive colour.

Rasa (taste) is of six kinds, namely, *madhura* (sweet), *amla* (sour), *lavaṇa* (saltish) *kaṭu* (pungent), *kaṣāya* (astringent), and *tikta* (bitter). They are also eternal and non-eternal.

Gandha (smell) is of two kinds, namely, sweet and bad. The Lord, Lakṣmī and the free souls are always associated with sweet smell, while in *prakṛti* and *vāsanā* both sweet scent and bad odour are perceived.

Other *guṇas* include *sparśa* (touch), *saṁkhyā* (number), *parimāna* (dimension), *saṁyoga* (conjunction), *viyoga* (disjunction), *dravatva* (fluidity), *gurutva* (heaviness), *mṛdutva* (softness) *kāṭhinya* (hardness), *sneha* (viscidity), *śabda* (sound), *buddhi* (intelligence), *sukha* (happiness) *duḥkha* (misery), *icchā* (desire), *dveṣa* (hatred), *prayatna* (carefulness), *dharma* (right behaviour), *adharma* (wrong behaviour), *saṁskāra* (impression of past experience), *āloka* (light), *sama* (inner control), *dama* (control of outer senses), *kṛpā* (kindness), *titikṣā* (patience), *bala* (strength), *bhaya* (fear), *lajjā* (shame), *gāmbhīrya* (sobriety), *saundarya* (beauty).

3. *Karma* or action are those activities which directly or indirectly begets *puṇya* (merit) or *pāpa* (demerit) and are of three kinds, namely, *vihita* (enjoined by the scriptures), *nisiddha* (prohibited by the scriptures) and *udāsīna* (or indifferent), that is, not contemplated by the scriptures. The *Śruti* says *'na kuryāt niṣphalaṁ karma'* (Do not perform an act which does not produce any result), from which it is inferred that fruit-less action begets demerit. Prescribed action is of two kinds *kāmya* and *akāmya*;[37] whatever action is performed with a desire to obtain results is *kāmya*, and those actions which are performed to please the Lord is *akāmya*. Gods and godesses such as Brahmā, Vāyu, Sarasvatī, Bhāratī also have desire, which is to have cognition of and devotion to the Lord. That the gods have *kāmya-karma* is proved by the ascendency of Brahmā in the *Satyaloka*, of Vāyu in the *Vāyu-loka* and so on, which are the results of past action. But Brahmā and other gods do not perform an action for self-gratification, but for the pleasure of the Lord. Only the Lord has no *kāmya-karma*. The *karma* performed by Rudra and others falls under the prohibited category, (which shows Madhva's hostile attitude to Śaivism. It may be added here that in this respect Caitanya differed entirely from Madhva, and in his doctrine respect is to be shown to Śiva.)

Udāsīna-karma is of the nature of throbbing, that is potential, and is of various kinds. Both the sentient beings and non-sentient objects can partake of it.

Karma has also been divided on the basis of eternal and non-eternal. The eternal action is of the essence of the Lord and consists of creation, destruction et cetera; similarly the action of move-

ment et cetera are of the essence of an individual, but remain unmanifest during bondage. (These actions must be distinguished from the non-eternal actions of an individual which can be perceived by the senses). The antagonists point out that if the Lord's action of creation and destruction be eternal there would be a constant process of creation and destruction. In reply it is pointed out that the contradictory action of creation and destruction abide in the Lord, but when one is in a dynamic form the other rests in Him in a potential form, which is called *śakti*. When the Lord is not actually engaged in creation, his power of creation (*kriyā-śakti*) abides in Him. The movement of the free souls is also eternal; these actions are described in the *Chāndogya* (VIII, xii.3) as *sa tatra paryeti jakṣat krīḍat ramamāṇaḥ strībhir vā yānair vā jñātibhir vā nopajanaṁ smarann idaṁ śarīram*[38] These actions are also eternal, because these have no material basis being unrelated to *prakṛti*. The mental activities of an individual in bondage is non-eternal, and does not exist in a free soul (*mukta*).

4. *Sāmānya*, or class-character, is of two kinds namely, *jāti* (universals) and *upādhi* (apparent qualifications). Madhva however, rejects the presence of universals in each individual and believes in the distinctiveness or uniqueness of each individual and object. Class-characteristics such as *brāhmaṇa*-hood et cetera may be eternal or non-eternal; the apparent characteristic of *brāhmaṇa*-hood depends on a physical body and is non-eternal, while the immutable *brāhmaṇa*-hood persists even in a free soul.

5. *Viśeṣa*, or the doctrine of specific particulars, is admitted by Madhva to determine the relation of qualities to their substances, in order to escape from the contradictory conception of simultaneous relation of *bheda* (difference) and *abheda* (non-difference). For example, the relation between *guṇa* (quality) and *guṇin* (person qualified) may be *bheda*, *abheda* or *bhedābheda*. But if the quality were identical with the qualified person or object, then the destruction of the former (colour in a jug) would mean the destruction of the latter (jug) and the two words would be synonymous. As the non-contradictory cognition of colour et cetera in a jug are not fallacious, therefore even those who accept non-difference as a dogma have to admit *viśeṣa* as a working hypothesis. Similarly in the relation between *guṇa* and *guṇin*, admission of the category of *viśeṣa*, is indispensable. Similarly, the attribute of *viśeṣa* has to be ascribed to Paramātman. The *Śrutis* have declared *ānanda* (bliss) to be of the essential nature of Brahman and it is also said that *ānanda* is of the nature of Brahman's *dharma*. The conception of difference or difference-in-non-difference in Brahman

has been denounced, hence it has to be admitted that according to the *Śrutis,* the relation of Brahman with its *dharma* is of absolute non-difference. Under the circumstances, it has to be admitted that for ontological purpose, it is imperative to admit the category of *viśeṣa,* which is representative of *bheda* and not *bheda* itself. It is not necessary that one subject must have only one *viśeṣa;* it may possess as many as necessary. There are infinite *viśeṣas* in the Lord. *Viśeṣa* is its own determinant, hence one *viśeṣa* need not be qualified by another in order to relate itself to its locus. *Viśeṣa* is of two kinds; the *viśeṣa* of eternal substances is eternal, while that of non-eternal substances is non-eternal.

6. *Viśeṣaṇa* means the qualifying attributes and *viśeṣya* is the substance qualified, wherefore *viśiṣṭa* or 'composite whole' stands in Mādhva philosophy for the form which a substance acquires after being related to its attributes. *Viśiṣṭa* is also of two kinds, namely, eternal and non eternal. God and his attributes of omniscience are therefore to be distinguished from a *daṇḍin* (a man carrying a stick) from the *daṇḍa* (stick) which are non-eternal by nature.

7. The two terms *aṁśa* and *aṁśin* roughly correspond to the idea of 'fraction' and 'unit' and are also sometimes used to denote 'part' and the 'whole'. These two categories are also applicable to sentient beings also. For theological purposes distinction is made between *svarūpāṁśa* (fraction of essence) and *bhinnāṁśa* (fraction apart), the *avatāras* (incarnations) of the Lord being in the former category, while the latter category includes the individual souls (*jīvas*). The *devas* have also their *aṁśas.*

8. *Śakti* (power) is of four kinds, namely (1) *acintya-śakti* (inconceivable power); (2) *ādheya-śakti* (adventitious power), e.g. the power brought about in an idol through the ritualistic operations of the installation ceremony; (3) *sahaja-śakti* (inherent power, by virtue of which changes and other things are produced by a thing; and (4) *pada-śakti* (power of words). Only the Lord possesses the full *acintya-śakti,* others possess it in relative quantities. It is due to the *acintya-śakti* that the Lord and other divine beings are capable of resolving contradictions, as of being seated in a place and yet going far away, as lying here and yet moving far away which are mentioned in the *Śrutis* (*Kaṭha,* I. ii. 21; *Gītā,* XIII, 13-14.) This *acintya-śakti* is also known as *aiśvarya.*

Any power which is conducive to the performance of an action is *sahaja-śakti;* possessed by eternal objects they are eternal and by non-eternal objects are non-eternal.

The *ādheya-śakti* or adventitious power has been explained above. *Pada-śakti* is that power which relates a word to its meaning.

9. *Sādṛśya* (resemblance) is a category which in the Mādhva system is designed to replace the universals. It is also of two kinds, namely, eternal and non-eternal. The resemblance of the free souls (*mukta-jīvas*) when they enjoy *sārūpya-mukti* (deliverance in the state of the same form as that of the Lord) are eternal whereas the resemblance between a cow and a gayal (*gavaya*), both non-eternal entities, are non-eternal.

10. *Abhāva* or (negation) is of four kinds, namely, (1) *prāg-abhāva*, that is, negation preceding a production; (2) *dhvaṁs-ābhāva*, that is, negation following a destruction; (3) *anyany-ābhāva*, that is mutual negation, like the negation or non-existence of a jug in a pot and of a pot in a jug; and (4) *atyant-ābhāva*, absolute negation or non-existence, belonging to impossible entities like the hare's horn, which is the Sanskrit equivalent of mare's nest.

According to Mādhva eschatology, one can gain immediate knowledge or a glimpse of the Lord through His grace, which bestows on the observer the knowledge of His infinite qualities and evokes an unceasing flow of love towards him. It is not possible to describe the magnitude of this love which erases from memory all past associations. This is known as *parama-bhakti;* such devotion brings extreme grace of the Lord to the devotee, which leads to salvation. The attainment of various heavens is due to His medium and small grace, but release from the sheaths imposed by *prakṛti* and *avidyā* without the Lord's extreme grace is impossible. The Lord's vision destroys *prakṛti, guṇas, karma* and the fine body attached to self, but like fire in smouldering embers they repeatedly appear and disappear in consecutive births and deaths, till the ripe (*prārabdha*) *karmas* are destroyed.

Salvation is of four kinds, namely, *karma-kṣaya* (destruction of *karma*), *utkrānti-laya* (destruction of birth), *arcirādi-mārga*,[39] and *bhoga* (enjoyment). Immediate knowledge destroys all accumulated demerits as well as those merits which are ultimately harmful (because fruit bearing); this is destruction of *karma*. Destruction here should not be taken literally, for though it implies the obliteration of certain actions and their results, it also implies the transference of certain merits to friends and demerits to enemies. Immediate knowledge cannot destroy ripe action (*prārabdha-karma*) which can only be exhausted through enjoyment. Even gods like Brahmā, Indra, Candra, and others have to enjoy (which also includes sufferings) the results of ripe action, but their ripe action is of a different nature and for Brahmā wholly meritorious; but for

other gods it is both meritorious and demeritorious.[40] After the ripe action has been exhausted, the *jīva* ascends along the *brahma* or *suṣumnā-nāḍī*, which extends from the *mūlādhāra*[41] to the head, like a white spoke, and is divided into five segments.

Some devotees do not use any image for their worship. Some of those who gain immediate knowledge without the use of any image leave the body along the *suṣumnā* channel. At that time the *jīva* remains senseless; Viṣṇu's effulgence reveals brilliantly the fore-part of the centre of consciousness, which is known as *brahma-dvāra*. Along this way the indwelling God exits from the body taking the *jīva* with him. The *prāṇa* follows him; other gods, knowledge, *karma* and ability follow *prāṇa*. On his way the free-soul is entertained in various manners by the inhabitants of the celestial path who discern from the sight of the free-soul that God must be with him. Thus the free-soul reaches Vaikuṇṭha, where he can see the *turīya-rūpa* (ultimate form) of the Lord.

Those who gain immediate knowledge by worshipping images are bound to remember God at the time of death. But the ignorant persons and even the *jñānins*, whose ripe action has not been exhausted, fail to remember him at the time of death. Their destiny and path of deliverance are different.

There are *jīvas* who are eternally earth-bound (*nitya-saṁsārī*); their subtle bodies[42] may be destroyed, without impairing their competency for mundane existence; thus they continue to enjoy, even after the destruction of the subtle body, pleasure mixed with pain; therefore, they are called eternally earth-bound. They have no fixed abode like the free souls, who reside in Vaikuṇṭha heaven. The *tāmas*-souls (the worst creatures) rest in a dark place; but some of the eternally earth-bound souls continually move from heaven to earth and to hell, while some rest in heaven. The only difference between such souls and a human being, is that while the latter enjoy pleasure and pain alternatively, the former undergoes the experience of simultaneous enjoyment, and suffering.

The *lokas* (*bhū*, *bhūvaḥ*, and *svaḥ*)[43] are traversed in a cyclic order; hence fall from heaven is inevitable once merit is exhausted. Therefore one should not wish for attaining *svarga*. Beyond *svarga* is *mahar-loka*, wherefrom there are some slight chances of down-fall but it is comparatively safer. The longevity of the inhabitants of *mahar-loka* is one *kalpa* (432 million years) while those in heaven enjoy a longevity of one *manvantara* (4,320,000 years). By virtue of mere *karma* (rituals) and without acquiring *jñāna* (knowledge), it is not possible to go beyond *svarga*. With the dawn of knowledge

the *lokas* can be penetrated and all danger of downfall removed. With the perfection of knowledge one can reach the eternal abode, the less perfect going to *vāyu-loka,* otherwise the soul has to wait for time. The danger of downfall is completely gone when the *jana-loka* (above *mahar-loka*) is reached, where the longevity is one *kalpa* of Brahmā.[44] But due to the *acintya-śakti* (unconceivable power) of the Lord, it is possible to return to the earth even after reaching the Vaikuṇṭha. The *devas* (gods) attain salvation in a different manner.

The subtle body is destroyed by bathing in the Virajā river. This river is situated between *pradhāna* and the *avyākṛt-ākāśa.*

At the time of dissolution all the souls enter into the body of the Lord. At that time it is possible to enjoy subjectively but not objectively, the latter beginning with the new creation. But the dissolution does not cause any modification in the knowledge or bliss of the free souls; the enjoyment of bliss, however, differs according to the capacity of each, even among the free-souls.

Bhoga (enjoyment) is of four kinds, namely, *sālokya, sāmīpya, sārūpya* and *sāyujya.* Enjoyment of *aiśvarya* (magnificence) similar to that of the Lord is called *sārṣṭi,* which is a mere modification of *sāyujya,* which means enjoyment through entering into Lord's body; this is the privilege of the gods. *Sārūpya* means the enjoyment through the adoption of a body similar to the Lord's in form. *Sāmīpya* means resting near the Lord. *Sālokya* means the ability to reside in any part of the Lord's abode.[45]

The Lord resides in Vaikuṇṭha heaven, being constantly worshipped by millions of souls, including Brahmā. His companion is Lakṣmī or Mahālakṣmī.

IV. *Rudra-Sampradāya of Vallabhācarya.*

According to Vallabha's philosophy—known as the *Śuddhādvaita* (pure *advaita*)—Kṛṣṇa is the supreme or *Parā-Brahman Saccidānanda.* From Him is derived *Akṣara* (immutable) *Brahman,* which is Brahman in its causal state. From *Saccidānanda-Brahman,* atomic particles burst out like sparks from a raging fire. These atomic parts are of the Brahman's own *cit* nature. Due to His will, each particle retains the *sat* aspect but loses the *bliss* aspect. These unqualified atomic particles with *sat* and *cit* (but without *ānanda*) are *jīvas.* However, when a *jīva* is immersed in a state of god-realization, qualities like bliss and all-pervasiveness may manifest in him. But just as a piece of red-hot iron may partake of the nature of fire, but still 'burning' cannot be called a nature

of iron, similarly all-pervasiveness as a concommitance of bliss is only a manifestation in a *jīva* and is not his natural state.

Jīva is eternal and can be divided into three types, namely, *śuddha* (pure), *saṁsārī* (earth-bound) and *mukta* (free). When the atomic particle comes out of Brahman, and loses its bliss aspect, it is known as *śuddha-cit* (pure-intelligence). This *śuddha-cit* or *jīva* is then attached to *avidyā* (nescience) and becomes *saṁsārī*, and loses its magnificence. Some of the *saṁsārīs* are of divine nature while others are of demonic nature. Those possessed of subtle good desire of sporting with the Lord are rewarded with divine nature which can lead to salvation. The *jīvas* with low desires are given demonic nature, which impedes release. In their gross body, they perform many heinous deeds, and gradually descend in the scale of animal life. Their salvation only comes when the Lord destroys *avidyā*.

Free-souls are of two types, namely, *jivan-mukta* and *parama-mukta*. The destruction of *avidyā* ushers in the state of *jivan-mukti*. Thereafter, due to the special grace of the Lord, some are enabled to enter the *paravyoman* (supreme heaven); they are *parama-mukta*.

Akṣara-Brahman appears differently to the *bhaktas* (devotees) and *jñānins* (possessor of knowledge). The *bhaktas* see Him in all His splendour and qualities. To the *jñānin*, He appears as beyond time, space, quality and self-revealing, with only the power of obscuration.

Mukti (salvation) is of two types, namely, *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa*. The principal result of worshipping a god is union (*sāyujya*) with him. As all the gods have qualities, union with them will be of the nature of *saguṇa-mukti*. But Kṛṣṇa is unqualified, hence union with him is *nirguṇa-mukti*, the highest form of salvation. This is not attainable by the path of knowledge.

Vallabha's system (*mārga*, lit. way) is known as *puṣṭi-mārga*, or the 'way of grace'. The Lord can deliver even a great sinner. For example, Indra had killed Dadhīci, a great sage, and Vṛtra, a great devotee, but due to His grace Indra was absolved from the effects of sinful acts.

Bhakti (devotion) of any kind depends on His grace. The devotion which results from ordinary or common grace is known as *maryādā-bhakti*, and that due to special grace is known as *puṣṭi-bhakti*. In the latter type of devotion, the Lord becomes the only object of desire, and even *mokṣa* or final release is contemptible in comparison to it.

There are four kinds of *puṣṭi-bhakti*: (1) *Pravāha-puṣṭi-bhakti*: here the sense of 'I' and 'mine' is retained, which inclines one to perform deeds which are dear to the Lord.

(2) *Maryādā-puṣṭi-bhakti*: in this state, all desires disappear, and the devotee is attached to renunciation; all his other attachments disappear and he developes a desire to listen to scriptures.

(3 *Puṣṭi-puṣṭi-bhakti:* in this state the devotee receives the special grace of His knowledge and becomes omniscient. He come to possess full knowledge about the Lord, His servitors, His *līlā* (play) and the phenomenal world.

(4) *Śuddha-puṣṭi-bhakti*: this is extremely rare. The devotee in this state is replete with love. Harirāja, fourth in descent from Vallabha has written 29 *kārikās* on *śuddha-puṣṭi-bhakti,* but we need not go into that.[46]

According to Rāmānuja, God holds the *jīvas* within himself and by His will dominates all their functions, by expanding or contracting all their knowledge. According to Nimbārka, *jīva* is naturally identical with God, and it is only through the limiting conditions that he appears as different from Him. According to Madhva, *jīva* is totally different from God. But Vallabha holds that the *jīva*s being parts of God are one with Him; they appear as *jīvas* through His actions by which certain qualities and powers that exist in God are obscured in the *jīva* and only limited powers are manifested.

According to Vallabha, the world is real, being a manifestation of God, who creates through His power called *māyā*, which is identical with Him. That aspect of *māyā* which causes confusion is called *avidyā*, and it is due to *avidyā* that a *jīva* suffers the birth cycle. Destruction of *avidyā* releases a *jīva*, but the *prapañca* (phenomenal world) remains.

Vidyā (knowledge) uproots *avidyā* (nescience), but that is not total destruction and cannot bring about real salvation. It is necessary to destroy the *samavāya* relation existing between the *jīva* and the *avidyā; vidyā*[47] cannot destroy the self-generating *māyā*, and so long as *māyā* exists *avidyā* must remain in a subtle form. Therefore, though *vidyā* can subdue *avidyā*, it cannot destroy it. But *vidyā* can destroy the illusory appearance of body, senses, and *prāṇa*, which are due to *avidyā*, thus bringing a cessation of life and death. But even in the absence of illusory appearance, the body etc. being a part of *prapañca* retains their essential nature. This is also a kind of *mokṣa*, but it is also called 'release from bondage'. Real deliverance is the cessation of universal *māyā*,

which cannot be attained by knowledge. In the *mokṣa,* due to the agency of *vidyā, avidyā* rests in a causal state in *māyā,* which according to Vallabha, is the secondary material cause.

So long as the *jīva* retains his essential nature (*jīvatva*) his chance of rebirth remains, even if the combination of his component elements are destroyed; for, the cause remains, though its effect in the form of the body is destroyed. But on the termination of the essential nature of *jīva,* that is, when he is merged in Brahman, or in Akṣara, the combined elements return to their primal cause, and chances of further rebirth is ruled out.

Brahman is *vibhu* (all-pervasive); but when at the end of dissolution, the time for creation dawns near, his all-pervasiveness practically evanesces. His first action then is to manifest His will-power (*icchā-śakti*), and its inherent subtle *māyā-śakti* with its three *guṇas.* Apparently, He then assumes finite determinations (*paricchinna*) due to *māyā,* and as has been said above, His all-pervasiveness practically evanesces. Then space is manifested, and by the action of *māyā* the parts are finitely determined, whereupon He rests pervaded by the finite parts. *Māyā* is an inseparable power (*śakti*) of Brahman, and this is the fundamental difference between Vallabha and Śaṁkara. Indeed, this is the reason for which Vallabha's system is called *Śuddh-ādvaita* or 'pure Advaita' in distinction to Śaṁkara's Advaita, where *māyā* is categorized as neither *sat* nor *asat* and indefinable, which according to Vallabha is an extremely illogical attitude.

According to Vallabha, though Brahman is undifferentiated, He has infinite forms which are not different from each other. Apparent differences are due to His will to create infinite forms. This is the essence of Brahman—the material cause of the world. The desire of Brahman to become many is for the purpose of creation.

It is due to His will that, from His essential nature is evolved infinite number of *cit* particles, as mentioned above. From the *sat* particles the insentient objects are produced, while from his *ānanda* aspect are produced the infinite number of *antaryāmins* or the inner controllers, one for each *jīva.* Thus from *Sac-cid-ānanda-Brahman's sat* aspect, the insentient objects, from *cit* aspect the sentient beings, and from the *ānanda* aspect the *antaryāmins* are produced respectively.

But as has already been stated, there is an element of *sat* in the *jīvas,* hence with the appearance of *ānanda* in him, he becomes of the nature of *Sac-cid-ānanda-Brahman.* This is known as *Brahma-sāmya* or *Brahma-bhāva.* Just as a ball of iron placed in fire shares

the burning power of fire, similarly a *Brahma-bhūta-jīva* is imbued with the qualities of Brahman.

Though the Lord is essentially one, His methods of creation are many. Sometimes He creates Himself, sometimes through the agency of others, like *Puruṣa* and Brahmā; the Vedas also record the gradual evolution of the created world; sometimes He himself assumes the form of the phenomenal world, while sometimes He creates the world like a magician through *māyā*. In all types of creation, except the last, the Lord indwells in the world.

The Lord's power is infinite and inconceivable. The Vedas praise the greatness and glory of the Lord when they describe the variegated creation, the main object of which is to establish devotion.

Devotion cannot sprout without the knowledge of Lord's greatness. *Bhakti* (devotion) is the firm and deep affection (*sneha*) for the Lord. Through *bhakti* the Lord is pleased and appears before the devotee; without His grace there is no other way to perceive Him. Therefore, *bhakti* is the cause of *mukti* (salvation). But the grace of God flows freely and unconditionally.

Vidyā has five aspect or stages, namely, *vairāgya* (renunciation), *sāṁkhya* (scriptural knowledge) *yoga* (control of mind), *tapas* (worship), and *bhagavad-bhakti* (devotion for the Lord). At first, there developes a distaste for sensual objects, this is *vairāgya;* then arises the knowledge of discrimination between eternal and mundane objects; this is followed by the practise of eight fold *yoga*[48] and critical discussion. At the end, due to uninterrupted flow of thought, *parama-prema* dawns, by virtue of which a *jīva* is enabled to enter the Lord. *Vidyā*, *avidyā* and *bhakti* are powers of the Lord, but as has been said above, Lord's grace is at the root of all *bhakti*. Therefore, one must give up everything and surrender himself to Him.

Brahman is the only object of knowledge, but to facilitate understanding, He has been described in three ways, namely *svarūpa* (essential point of view) *kāraṇa* (causal point of view) and third *kārya* (active point of view). From the essential point of view, He may be viewed in three aspects, as knowledge, action, and knowledge and action. Ritualistic sacrifice is prescribed in the *pūrva-kāṇḍa* of the Vedas; though these are also of the nature of Brahman, but the prescribed process, from the stage of performance to the realization of result, must be reckoned as an action in the shape of worship. The Upaniṣads represent the *jñāna-kāṇḍa* of the Vedas, and though they undoubtedly represent His essential gnostic nature,

during the course of studies—that is, till ultimate realization—their teachings appear as mere knowledge. The essential nature of Brahman is the subject of the *Gītā* and *Bh.P.* also, but in such texts the object is *bhakti*, hence the *Gītā* and *Bh.P.* are imbued with both gnosis and action. In these texts Kṛṣṇa is described as having a form, and infinite qualities, hence he is described as Purṣottama. It is this form which is revealed through ultimate devotion. The categories of *akṣara, karma, kāla* and *svabhāva* are all included within Brahman. The *antaryāmin* is of His real nature, but as the former is inherent in every soul in the field of action, it is capable of finite division. But it also inheres in the causal Brahman, whom it helps.[49]

There are twenty-eight categories, which includes the twenty-five of Sāṁkhya, and the three *guṇas*.

In answer to the question as to whether Brahman has a form or is formless, Vallabha says that, form (*rūpa*) may be the function of the ten senses as well as their object, and in neither of these two senses can it be admitted that Brahman is possessed of a form. From everyday experience it is found that, *rūpa* (form) and *rūpavān* (one possessed of a form) are different. Brahman can never have the egotism consequent on having a form; indeed the 'form' itself is of the essential nature of Brahman, and there is no difference between them. Hence the scriptures admit the nature of knowledge and bliss (*cid-ānanda*) of Bhagavat as well as His body, by stating, *ānanda-mātra-kara-pada-mukh-odar-ādi* (bliss only [is His] hands, legs, mouth, belly et cetera).

This *cid-ānanda* is *rasa* which is necessary to sustain the life of the *jīva* and brings to his heart a taste of bliss. The account of *rasa* found in texts (*rasa-śāstra*) are the activated parts of Bhagavat whose essence is *rasa*. The mode of expression of *rasa* being various, it appears in many forms though essentially one. In reality, the supreme Brahman is signified as *rasa* by appearing in the heart according to a particular mode, which is impossible without unswerving devotion. It is admitted, however, that Bhagavat's appearance outside the heart is also of the essence of *rasa*.[50]

However, though Bhagavat is *rasa* he is also its enjoyer, that is He is both *rasa* and *rasika*. Among the *rasas*, the chief is *śṛṁgāra* (lit. erotic passion) of which the root-emotion (*sthāyī-bhāva*) is *rati* (sport). Therefore though Bhagavat is in essence *rati*, He is also *Rati-mat*, that is, possessed of *rati*. The substantial excitants (*ālambana-vibhāga*) of *rati*, for example, of the milkmaids of Vraja being *śṛṁgāra*, to them the essence of Bhagavat is *śṛṁgāra-rasa*. To Yaśodā, His essence will be of *vātsalya-rasa* (parent-sentiment).

Thus His essence will change according to the substantial excitants. *Bhāva* (inward sentiment) is also of the nature of Bhagavat.[51]

There are those who think that, it is not possible that Bhagavat, who is knowledge itself and the essence of bliss, can suffer the pangs of *viraha* (separation from the beloved one), so that *līlā* is a mere imitation. But it should be remembered that the *viraha* aspect of the *līlā* does not obstruct His abundance or fullness. It is also not correct to say that, *līlā* is mere imitation. If it is true that Bhagavat is also of the essence of *śṛṅgāra-rasa*, then it is unreasonable to dismiss as impossible His meetings and separation from His beloved. This does not detract from His Brahman-hood; for, Brahman contains all contradictions of nature. This is declared by the Vedas, and realized by the sages.

Like Bhagavat, His attributes are also eternal and of the essence of *sat, cit* and *ānanda*. The devotees, on whom He bestows his attributes of *aiśvarya* (majestic splendour), enjoy it so long as He pleases. Therefore *līlā*, which is action performed without any effort, is said to be eternal and of abundance of *cit* (*cinmaya*). *Līlā* is of two kinds, one is with regard to contradictory counterpart, the other regardless of such counterparts. The phenomenal world belongs to the former class, while Bhagavat's *līlā* flows on without any regard for the counterpart.[52]

Bhagavat's *nāma* (name) is also eternal. Each name is imbued with a particular action or form, and that form in association with that action is eternal. However, 'for the enjoyment of a particular sentiment by devotees, sometimes a part of the Bhagavat is manifested and at times a part is obscured. Therefore, Bhagavat holding the Govardhana mountain is eternal. Hence the actions involved in holding the Govardhana mountain, and the form in which He held it are eternally present. Therefore some devotees can feel Him thus even now.'[53] One can also worship and meditate upon Him in the shape of an image. Had these forms been mundane, and not of the essence of Bhagavat, then it would have been a sin to think of such forms as Bhagavat. But it is a fact that by worshipping such images it is indeed possible to obtain His grace. A form must have a name; hence name also, like quality, action and form, is eternal. Indeed His name, form, quality and action are all eternal.

Further, or one might say the furthest possible, development of the *rasa* theory will be found in the doctrine preached by Vallabha's contemporary, Caitanya.

1. *Sāṇḍilya-Saṁhitā*, vol. V; I. iv. 458 quoted by Svāmī Vidyāraṇya, *Bhāgavat Dharmar Prācīn Itihās* (Bengali) vol. I, p. 135.
2. For a discussion of Nimbārka's date see S. N. Das Gupta: *A History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. III, pp. 399-400.
3. S. N. Das Gupta, op. cit., vol. III, p. 399; Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj; *Bhāratīya Sādhanār Dhārā* (Bengali), p. 26; S. Radhakrishnan: *The Brahma-Sūtra*, p. 78. It may be noted that according to Śrī Svāmī Santadās Vrajavidehī, Nimbārka's original name was Niyamāditya: once some saints came to his hermitage in the evening, and as they were not likely to eat after dusk, Niyamāditya got up on a Nimba tree and covered the sun with Viṣṇu's discus. This enabled the saints to enjoy a meal and since then Niyamādita came to be called Nimbāditya or Nimbārka, a name by which his sect came to be known. This story shows that Nimbārka's peculiar name may have other—though perhaps less rational—explanation than his connection with a village in Bellary of which there is no proof. It may be noted that in Śrīnivāsa's *Laghustavarāja* and in Sundarabhaṭṭa's *Siddhāntasetu* (quoted by G. Kaviraj, *op. cit*). Nimbārka is referred to as Niyamānanda.
4. *Kalyāṇa* (Hindi), *Vedānta-khaṇḍa*, p. 700.
5. Das Gupta, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 382. See also G. H. Bhatt: Viṣṇusvāmī and Vallabhācārya. *Proceedings of the Seventh All India Oriental Conference*, 1933, pp. 449-465; A. N. Roy: *The Visnusvamī Riddle*, *ABORI* XIV, 1932-33, pp. 161-181.
6. Gopinath Kaviraj, op. cit., p. 152.
7. 'Brahman is apprehended under two forms; in the first place as qualified by limiting conditions owing to the multiformity of the evolutions of name and form (i.e. the multiformity of the created world); in the second place as being the opposite of this, i.e. free from limiting conditions whatever.' Translation by G. Thibaut, vol. I, p. 61.
8. 'All these passages, with many others, declare Brahman to possess a double nature, according as it is the object either of Knowledge or of Nescience. As long as it is the object of Nescience, there are applied to it the categories of devotee, object of devotion, and the like. The different modes of devotion lead to different results, some to exaltation, some to gradual emancipation, some to success in works; those modes are distinct on account of the distinction of the different qualities and limiting conditions.' Translation by G. Thibaut, vol. 1, p. 62.
9. 'For as long as the individual soul does not free itself from Nescience in the form of duality—which Nescience may be compared to the mistake of him who in the twilight mistakes a post for a man—and does not rise to the knowledge of the Self, whose nature is unchangeable, eternal Cognition—which expresses itself in the form 'I am Brahman'—so long it remains the individual soul.' Translation by G. Thibaut, vol. I, p. 185.
10. 'O thou, the destroyer of the shackle of birth (cycle) I pray not thee to deliver me (into a state), where my relation with thee, my Lord! as a slave unto his Master is obliterated.'
11. 'Belonging to the self, as it were, of the omniscient Lord, there are name and form, the figments of Nescience, not to be defined either as being (i.e. Brahman) nor as different from it, the germs of the entire expanse of the phenomenal world, called in Śruti and Smṛti the illusion (*māyā*), power (*śakti*), or nature (*prakṛti*) of the omniscient Lord.' Tr. by G. Thibaut. For the concept of *māyā* as *aiśvarī śakti*, see *Pañcadaśī*, II, 38-41.
12. 'Thus the Lord, (who is) always possessed of majesty, power, strength, vital strength, and lustre, having subdued the primal *prakṛti*, (which is composed of) three *guṇas* by his own *vaiṣṇavī* (that is, appertaining to Viṣṇu) *māyā*, though being unborn (that is, existing from eternity), not liable to modification, lord of all the elements, (and being of the) nature of eternally pure intelligence and free, (yet) it appears as if he assumed a body with (the help of) his own *māyā*, (and) as if he were born, as if to favour men.' Śaṁkara has practically repeated himself in commenting on *Gītā*, IV. 6, which cannot be explained otherwise.
13. 'O Devī! Māyāvāda (that is, *advaita*) which is said by (the learned) as concealed Buddhism, was promulgated by me in the shape of a *brāhmaṇa* (that is Śaṁkara) (in order to delude mankind).' Supposed to be said by Mahādeva to Devī, that is Pārvatī, and was probably first quoted by Vijñānabhikṣu or Madhva.
14. *Gītā*, XIV, 27.

15. S. N. Das Gupta: *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. III, p. 196.
16. It may be noted in passing that almost all the great temples, the visible symbols of Indian culture, are post-Śaṁkara.
17. According to the *Pauṣkara-saṁhitā* a man, due to his accumulated merits, enjoys heaven and due to Divine will may reach yet higher spheres where he may spend hundreds of *kalpas*. Having gained knowledge such a man then descends on earth and is suddenly merged (lit. dissolved) into the *amitātmā Bhagavan: layaṁ ca sahasā yāti bhagavati amitātmani*. The same text also states: *ante bhūtamayaṁ deham tyaktvās = te Vāsudevavat* (at the end they rid themselves of their body like Vāsudeva). *Pauṣkara-Saṁhitā*, xxxi. 230-3 and XIX, 15.20 quoted by Svāmī Vidyāraṇya, *Bhāgavat Dharmer prācīn Itihās* (Bengali), vol. II, pp. 81; for a detailed discussion of the difference between Rāmānuja and the Pañcarātras see ibid, pp. 242-251.
18. *bhaktiḥ prity-ādiś = ca jñāna viśeṣa iti vakṣyate. Sarvārtha-siddhi*, p. 190, q. by Das Gupta, op. cit., vol. III, p. 292 f.n.
19. Rāmānuja here quotes *Chāndogya*, VII, xxvi, 2; *āhāra-śuddhau sattva-śuddhiḥ; sattva-śuddhau dhruvā-smṛtiḥ*. (In pure nourishment there is a pure nature. Pure nature (leads to) steadfast remembrance).
20. For this conclusion and for several others in this section I have relied on MM. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj: *Bhāratiya Sadhānar Dhārā* (Bengali), pp. 8; 12.
21. Nappinnāi is also mentioned in the old Tamil classic *Silappadikāram* (c. 2nd century A.D.). For details see A. K. Majumdar: *A Note on the Development of the Rādhā Cult, ABORI*, XXXVI (1955), pp. 231-57. In one of her songs Āṇḍāl writes: 'O Lady Nappinnāi, with tender breasts like unto little cups, with lips of red and slender waist, Lakṣmī, awake from sleep.' J. S. M. Hooper: *Hymns of the Alvārs*, p. 55. From this it is apparent that Nappinnāi by this time was identified with Lakṣmī.
22. '(The *ātmnan* is) a part of (of Brahman) on account of the declaration of difference and otherwise also; for in some (scriptures) (Brahman) is spoken of as being (of the) nature of slaves, dishonest people etc.' In Śaṁkara's commentary the number of this aphorism is II. iii, 43.
23. 'From these two views of difference and non-difference there results the comprehensive view of the soul being a part of the Lord. The following *sūtra* supplies a further reason.'
24. 'Hitherto the (*śruti*) has forbidden (denied) the *mūrta* and *amūrta* forms of Brahman, hence it states again.'
25. 'Now (after the truth has been ascertained) is the precept (about Brahman): 'Not thus: not so. For there is nothing beyond him other than this, that is thus.'
26. 'And (Brahman is apprehended) through meditation, perception and inference.'
27. 'But (on account of) the dual precepts (the relation of Brahman to *jiva* is to be viewed) as that between a serpent and its coil.
28. However in commenting on next but one aphorism (*Br. S.* III. 2. 29), Śaṁkara says: 'Nor, finally, can it be said that *Śruti* equally teaches difference and non-difference. For non-difference is what it aims at establishing; while, when engaged in setting forth something else, it merely refers to difference as something known from other sources of knowledge (viz. perception etc.)—Hence the conclusion stands that the soul is not different from the highest-self.'
29. It may also mean that the individual soul is the subject (*āśraya*) to which knowledge is related as the predicate.
30. Nimbārka does not give any description of *aprākṛta* or *kāla* which are supplied by Puruṣottama in his *Vedānta-ratna-mañjuṣā*. It should be noted that, *aprākṛta* is a peculiar conception of the Vaiṣṇavas, and means something like anti-matter. This conception is extremely necessary for their teleological system. For *parā* and *aparā-prakṛti*, see *Gītā*, VII. 5, but there the meaning is slightly different.
31. For details see Nimbārka's commentary on the *Br. S.* 1 i.5-20.
32. 'But as in ordinary life (creative activity) is mere sport to Brahman.' Nimbārka's commentary on this aphorism is extremely brief as its meaning is too obvious. Śaṁkara's longer comment is, however, an eloquent testimony to the devotional aspect of his heart.
33. Usually it is held that *bheda* or difference is of three kinds; (1) *svajātīya* difference in one class, e.g. one cow from another. (2) *vijātīya*, difference from those of another class, e.g. difference between a cow and a horse; (3) *svagata*,

internal or organic difference, e.g. difference between a tree and its branches, leaves and flowers. Madhva did not admit *svagata-bheda* in its absolute sense.

34. *gaganaṁ sākṣī-gocaram pradeśa iti vijñeyam, Aṇuvyākhyāna*, II. 3. Madhva's theory of knowledge distinguishes between ordinary knowledge through sensory channels, termed *vṛtti-jñāna* and intuitive perception by the self called *sākṣī-jñāna*. The doctrine of *sākṣī* plays a very important part in Madhva's epistemological system.
35. There is a distinct difference between Sāṁkhya's *prakṛti* and Madhva's *prakṛti*.
36. The qualities admitted by the Vaiśeṣikas are: *rūpa* (colour), *rasa* (taste) *gandha* (odour), *sparśa* (touch) and *śabda* (sound); each is an attribute of the corresponding *bhūtas*, or their combinations.
37. Vaiśeṣikas have five kinds of *karmas;* but Madhva holds that even *utkṣepaṇa-karma* (upward action or movement) of the Vaiśeṣikas produce results.
38. 'There such a one goes around laughing, sporting, having enjoyments with women or chariots or friends, not remembering the appendages of his body.' *Chāndogya. Up.* VIII, xii, 2.
39. *Arci* means flame. For details see Madhva's commentary on *Gītā*, VIII, 24, where he quotes *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (VI. ii, 15) *te'rcir-abhisaṁbhavanti*, (they reach *arci*, i.e. the deity identified with flame).
40. *Karma* or action is of three kinds, and has been compared with arrows: (1) *saṁcita-karma*, arrows in quiver, (2) *aprārabdha-karma*, arrows in hand; (3) *prārabdha-karma* discharged arrow. The first two can be destroyed, but the last cannot be recalled, it must complete its trajectory.
41. A physically unidentifiable part of human anatomy near the anus.
42. *Liṁga-deha* means the subtle body, consisting of the ten senses, five *prāṇas* and *manas*. *Bhāgavata-tatparyāya*, I. 13, quoted by Das Gupta, IV, pp. 317-18. But there are other descriptions of the *liṁga-deha*, in other systems.
43. *Bhū* means the phenomenal world; *bhūvaḥ* means an intermediate heaven, which is not free from summer heat, winter's cold or rain. Beyond this is *svar-loka* or *svarga*, that is heaven. *Yogi-Yājñavalkya*.
44. One *kalpa* is one day for Brahmā, so one *Brahma-kalpa* is 432 million multiplied by 432 million years. For details see *Bh.P.* III, xi.
45. As we shall see later Caitanya practically decried this idea of *bhoga*.
46. A short summary of Harirāja's view is given by Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj, op. cit., p. 61.
47. According to Vallabha, *samavāya* is not a relation of inherence which exists between cause and effect such as is admitted by Naiyāyikas; with him it means *tādātmya* (identity). *Samavāyī-karaṇa*, according to Vallabha means universal and unconditional pervasion.
48. (1) *Yama* (*ahiṁhsā, satyam, asteya, brahmacarya, aparigraha*), (2) *niyama*, (*sauca santoṣa, tapas. īsvara-praṇidhāna*), (3) *āsana;* (4) *prāṇāyāma;* (5) *pratyāhāra;* (6) *dhyāna;* (7) *dhāraṇā;* (8) *samādhi*.
49. '*antaryāmināṁ sva-rūpa-bhūtatve'pi jīvena saha kārye praveśāt tad-bhedānām ānantye'pi kāraṇī-bhūta-vakṣyamāna-tattva-śarīre praviśya tat-sahāya-karaṇāt kāraṇa-koṭāv eva niveśo na tu sva-rūpa-koṭau.*' Quoted by Das Gupta: op cit., Vol. IV, p. 332.
50. *bahir-āvirbhutasy = āpi bhagavato rasatvam abādham eva*, Purusottama, quoted by Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj. op. cit., p. 67.
51. *tasya tasya rasasya tādṛk tādṛg = rūpatvād yatra yo raso yādṛśo yāvad vidhaḥ śāstra-siddhas tatra tādṛśaḥ tāvad siddhaḥ sa raso bhagavān eva; rasavāṁś = c = aiva eka; tathā ca tatratyā sarvā sāmagrī tad rasa-rūp = aiva; Vidvan-maṇḍalam*, pp. 192. Quoted by Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj, op. cit., p. 67. f.n.
52. Counterpart means *pratiyogin*, for example, a pot is the counterpart of the 'absence of a pot'.
53. Viṭṭhalanātha quoted by Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj, op. cit., p. 68.

CHAPTER V

PRE-CAITANYA VAIṢṆAVISM IN BENGAL

1

For the existence of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal before Caitanya, we have epigraphic, iconographic and literary evidence.

The earliest epigraphic record which definitely refers to the worship of Viṣṇu in Bengal is the Susunia rock inscription which is engraved along with a *cakra* (discus) on the back-wall of a cave, and describes king Candravarman as a devotee of Cakrasvāmin, that is Viṣṇu. Candravarman, who has been taken to be a contemporary of the Gupta emperor Samudra-gupta (c. 340-380), calls himself the 'foremost of the servants of Cakrasvāmin'.[1]

The Baigram copper plate inscription (dated A.D. 447-48) of the time of Kumāra-gupta (415-455) records that two villagers purchased some lands in order to meet the expenses of repairing and continuing the daily worship of *Bhagavato Govinda-svāminaḥ devakulam* (temple of the divine Lord Govinda).[2] Archaeological excavation has revealed the remains of a brick temple at Baigram, which has been assigned to the Gupta period.[3]

Inscriptions of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods reveal such personal names as Deva-Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu-candra, Gopāla, Viṣṇu-datta, Viṣṇu-bhadra, Viṣṇu-deva-śarman, Rāma, Śrībhadra, Viṣṇu-vardhaki, Viṣṇu-pālita, Hari-trāta, Cakra-pālita, Varāha-svāmin, Rāmaka, Gopāla-swāmin, Bhaṭṭa-gopāla and others.[4] A large proportion of the direct followers of Caitanya, Nityānanda and Advaitācārya have *vaiṣṇava* names, while almost an equal proportion have names which show affiliation to Śiva or other gods. So too much emphasis should not be given to personal names, as poets with the name of Chaṇḍidāsa were devoted *vaiṣṇavas*.

The Kailan inscription mentions a *parama-vaiṣṇava* king named Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta.[5] Another king, Jayanāga, a *parama-bhāgavata* of the latter half of the sixth century A.D. is known from the Vappaghoṣavāṭa grant.[6]

The Pāla kings of Bengal were Buddhists, but the Khalimpur copper plate of Dharma-pāla (c. 770-810) speaks of a *devakula* of the god Nanna-Nārāyaṇa, and a Garuḍa pillar was erected during the reign of Nārāyaṇa-pāla (c. 854-908).[7] The early Sena kings, were Śaivites, but the Deopara inscription of Vijaya-sena (c. 1095-1158) makes obeisance to Siva and to the 'temple of Pradyumne-

śvara', 'the abode of the beloved of Laksmi and the husband of Mountain's daughter,' that is Hari-Hara. Lakṣmaṇa-sena, and his successors, however, showed strong Vaiṣṇavite leanings, and their inscriptions begin with an invocation to Nārāyaṇa.[8]

But most interesting from our point of view is the undated Belava copper plate of king Bhojavarman, who seems to have ruled in Bengal immediately before the Senas. The inscription states: "He (Hari) appeared, again in this world, as Kṛṣṇa, who sported with one hundred milkmaids as the leading figure of the *Mahābhārata*. . . ."[9]

A large number of Viṣṇu images has been discovered in Bengal. Actually, among the images discovered in Bengal, Visṇuite images are said to be the most common. We need not go into the iconographic details, though some very interesting forms have been found, including one of *abhicārika-sthānaka* type, probably unique in India.[10] The commonest form of Viṣṇu images in Bengal is of the *trivikrama* type, where the attributes in the lower and upper left and upper and lower right hands are conch, discus, mace and lotus respectively. Images and reliefs of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu have been found; among the *avatāras* Varāha, Narasiṁha and Vāmana have been found as separate figures. A few figures of Haladhara or Balarāma carrying a plough, have also been discovered. Of the goddesses associated with Kṛṣṇa, Laksmī and Sarasvatī (Śrī and Puṣṭi) are the most important; they are found in association with Viṣṇu as well as alone. Images of Viṣṇu's mount, Garuḍa, also have been found, sometimes alone, but usually depicting Viṣṇu riding on his bird-vehicle.

2

Of the Sanskrit works, the most well-known composition during the Pāla period was the historical *kāvya*, *Rāmacarita*. But beyond stereotyped description of temples, including *vaiṣṇava* temples, it contains little of religious interest. Among minor works, the *Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya* has been assigned to a period not later than the 10th century. In this anthology, most probably compiled in Bengal, sections have been devoted to gods like Hari, Śiva, Umā and others. There are sections called *Hari-vrajyā* and *Asati-vrajyā* which contain poems describing the amorous sport of Kṛṣṇa with the *gopīs*.

There is another anthology called the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* compiled by an official of king Lakṣmaṇa-sena of Bengal (c. A.D. 1179-1206), the patron of Jayadeva. This anthology not only contains verses in praise of Kṛṣṇa, but there are eleven verses which mention Rādhā; of these one verse was written by Lakṣmaṇa-sena himself,

two by Umāpati-dhara, and one by Śaraṇa both of whom were attached to Lakṣmaṇa-sena's court, and are mentioned by Jayadeva in the *Gīta-Govinda.*

The *Gita-Govinda* is the greatest work in Sanskrit literature written by a Bengali poet. It is difficult to say how far it was religiously motivated, though it concerns itself solely with Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. However, it is the earliest work in which all the incarnations of Kṛṣṇa are mentioned. The complete list is: Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Balarama, Buddha, and Kalkin. This has since been the standard list of the *avatāras* and has been widely accepted.[11]

3

The oldest compositions in Bengali are the Buddhist *Caryāpadas*, composed most probably between A.D. 950-1200, possibly during the earlier half of this period. Poets in Bengal, however, before A.D. 1300, wrote not only in Bengali but also in Western Apabhraṁśa. It has been suggested that the twenty-four songs of Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda,* where we get a different type of prosody or verse-form from that of classical Sanskrit, are really the reflexes in Sanskrit of the vernacular or Apabhraṁśa tradition in literature. Lassen had indeed suggested long ago that the originals of these twenty-four songs were in Apabhraṁśa or in Old Bengali, and Jayadeva rendered them into Sanskrit and incorporated them in the *Gīta-Govinda*. This theory has been justified on the ground that Apabhraṁśa songs and Old Bengali verses similar to the songs of the *Gīta-Govinda* have been found in the *Prākṛta-paiṁgala* and other works.[12] This theory has been challenged, but on the whole it appears to us that there is fair ground for believing that the sensuous verses depicting the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa were parts of a popular mass literature now lost. It is significant to remember in this connection that the earliest literary composition to mention the name of Rādhā is found in Hāla's Prakrit work, namely, the *Gāthā-Saptaśatī,* usually ascribed to the second century A.D. We shall presently see that almost all the Bengali works dealing with Kṛṣṇa, really depict the amours of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Hence it is quite likely that these were polished version of a folk literature. It was probably Caitanya who gave this Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult a metaphysical background, and elevated it to the realm of divine love.

The origin of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa literature has some indirect bearing on Caitanya's doctrine. It is well known that his sect later degenerated, owing to admission into it of large number of low caste people, and probably also of Buddhists. For this responsibility is laid

on Nityānanda and his son Vīrabhadra.[13] It is on record that Nityānanda had initiated Uddhāraṇa Datta, a rich *baniā*, into *vaiṣṇava* faith. But centuries before Caitanya and Nityānanda low castes like the *baniās* and *valajikas* (*bāruis*) were following the *vaiṣṇava* faith for which epigraphic evidences are available.[14] Such evidences are never conclusive, and it may be risky to generalize on the basis of a theory and a few scattered inscriptions; but as the chance of getting reliable information is very remote, we would venture to suggest that Vaiṣṇavism in the form of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult had taken a hold in Bengal, particularly on the lower classes, long before Caitanya. Therefore they readily responded to his appeal propagated through the novel mass media of *saṁkīrtana*, which will be described later. Admittedly other sects, like Nimbārka's and Vallabha's worshipped Rādhā, but it was in Caitanya's doctrine that she occupied the supreme position. For this, field was already prepared by the poets who sang in the language of the masses, which was a distinct contribution of Bengal to Indian literature.

4

The Turkish conquest of Bengal began about A.D. 1205 and for nearly a century and a half there was hardly any literary output. The first great poet of Middle Bengali was Kṛttivāsa Ojhā Mukhaṭi, who wrote an adapted version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in c. 1418.

Next in importance was Mālādhara Basu, who was given the title of *Guṇarāja Khān* by the Muslim king of Bengal. His famous *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-vijaya* is a Bengali version of the *Bh.-P.* The work was begun in 1473-74 and finished seven years later. But the works which have enjoyed more lasting influence are the *vaiṣṇava* lyrics of Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa. The former was a Maithilī poet and scholar, and his songs are in Maithilī. But in those days Mithilā and Bengal shared common sentiments, and Vidyāpati's songs were probably as popular in Bengal then as now. Vidyāpati's date is uncertain, but it has been assumed that he flourished some time between 1370-1460. About Caṇḍīdāsa, it should be noted that, there were several poets bearing this name. Of them two seem to have lived before Caitanya; one of them called Ananta Baḍu Caṇḍidāsa wrote the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana*, in which Rādhā is portrayed as an incarnation of Lakṣmī.[15] Most probably Caitanya had not read the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana* for it is not mentioned in any literature of his sect, which refers to a lyric poet of that name, who has been identified with Dvija Caṇḍidāsa; but some scholars are of the opinion that the songs of Caṇḍīdāsa which Caitanya enjoyed were also written by the author of the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana*.[16]

But the greatest period of middle Bengali literature was post-Caitanya and directly influenced by him. It may not be an exaggeration to say that he ushered the golden age of Bengali literature.

It will be evident, however, from what has been noted above, that the seeds of *vaiṣṇava* faith and movement had already sprouted in Bengal before Caitanya's birth, probably long before. Three great *vaiṣṇava* sects had become prominent in India before Caitanya, but we do not know whether any of them had been able to extend their influence in Bengal, though it would not be unreasonable to hold that they did. But if so, their influence seems to have been negligible and in any case, localized. It needed Caitanya's magic touch to develop overnight the tiny sapling of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal into a noble tree which not only dug its roots firmly into the soil, but blossomed into flowers, whose fragrance is not yet totally lost.

1. R. C. Majumdar, Ed. *History of Bengal* (1943), p. 48. Susunia Hill is about twelve miles to the north-west of the Bankura town. For Susunia Rock Inscription, see *EI*, XIII, 133.
2. *EI*, XXI, p. 81 ff.
3. S. K. Saraswati: *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. VIII, p. 151 ff.
4. For references see S. C. Mukherji: *A Study of Vaisnavism in Ancient and Medieval India*, Calcutta, 1966, p. 13. Personal names with Viṣṇu component seems to have been quite common in north India at this time, as revealed by various north Indian inscriptions.
5. D. C. Sircar, *Bhāratavarṣa* (1353 B.S.) N. K. Bhattasali: *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXII, pp. 169-71, XXIII, p. 369, ff.
6. *ABORI*, XIX, p. 81, *EI*, XVIII, p. 60. For the date of Jayanāga see R. C.. Majumdar, *op. cit.* p. 80.
7. Khalimpur copper plate, *EI*, IV, p. 243; Badal Pillar inscription, *EI*, II, p. 160.
8. N. G. Majumdar: *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, pp. 85, 94, 101, 109, 133, 143, 161. For Deopara inscription see ibid, p. 50.
9. Ibid, p. 22. v. 4. The earliest inscription to mention the *gopīs* is probably the mutilated inscription from Pabhosa (Prabhāsa) a place 32 miles south west of Allahabad on the Yamuna. It states *'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-gopī-rupakarttā'* (the maker of images of Kṛṣṇa and the *gopis*'). On palaeographic grounds Bühler has ascribed this inscription to the seventh or eighth century A.D. *EI*, II, p. 482. Thus it is evident that by the seventh or the eighth century, worship of Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs* was prevalent in north India.
10. This figure has been identified with reference to the *Vaikhānasa-āgama;* if this identification is correct, it would show the influence of this *Āgama* in Bengal. This image has been placed in the 8th century on stylistic grounds. For details see R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 429-440.
11. *In the Bh.P.* there are three lists of *avatāras* of 22, 23 and 16 respectively.
12. There are instances of Jayadeva's verses being translated into Bengali, for example compare *tor rati āso āseñ gelā abhisāre* of *Srī-Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana* (p. 102) with Jayadeva's *rati-sukhasāre gatam abhisāre*.
13. For Nityānanda see below.
14. See Damodarpur Copper Plate, No. 1, *EI*. XV, p. 129; Baghaura image inscription, *EI*, XVII, p. 355; Paikpada Betka Vasudeva image inscription, *EI*, XXVII, p. 26; Madhyapada Copper plate, N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
15. For an analysis of *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana*. See A. K. Majumdar: A Note on the Development of the Radha Cult, *ABORI*, XXXVI (1956), pp. 242-44.
16. Caṇḍīdāsa problem is extremely complicated. It is difficult to subscribe to the view that the Caṇḍīdāsa whose songs Caitanya enjoyed was the author of the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana*. In that case his ignorance of the poet's major work can hardly be suggested; moreover the gross nature of this work leads us to believe that the poet was incapable of writing any good lyric.

CHAPTER VI

A SURVEY OF POLITICAL HISTORY OF BENGAL AND ORISSA

1

In this short survey we need not take into account the very early history of either Bengal or Orissa, but, a short account of the later history of the two provinces is necessary to understand the political condition at the time of Caitanya's birth. It should be remembered, however, that the frontiers of ancient or medieval Bengal and Orissa did not coincide with their present (or pre-1947) frontiers and when we speak of Bengal or Orissa of ancient or medieval period, the terms are more indicative than determinative.

2

Bengal formed a part of the Maurya and then of the Gupta empire. After the dissolution of the Gupta empire several independent kingdoms arose in Bengal, but we need not go into their history. The first important ruler of Bengal is Śaśāṁka, who killed Harṣa-vardhana's elder brother Rājya-vardhana. Śaśāṁka's regnal period is not known, but there are reasons to believe that he continued to rule up to about the middle of the third decade of the seventh century. The history of Bengal for a century after Śaśāṁka's death is extremely obscure. It is, however, known that during the eighth century, she had to suffer several invasions from outside. Possibly these invasions were responsible for a state of anarchy, which led the Bengali chiefs to elect in c.A.D. 750, one Go-pāla (c.750-770) as the king of Bengal.

The successors of Go-pāla, namely Dharma-pāla (c.770-810), and Deva-pāla (c. 810-850) ushered in the greatest period in the political history of Bengal. Their empire included Bihar, and for a time, parts of Orissa. However, this glorious period did not last long, but the Pālas continued to rule over large parts of Bengal and Bihar till the end of the dynasty in c.1150. The only important event during this long period of Pāla rule, which should be mentioned here, is the Kaivarta rebellion headed by an official of that caste named, Divya or Divvoka (c.1075) who usurped the throne. He was succeeded by his brother, followed by the latter' son, Bhīma, who was defeated and killed by the Pāla king Rāma-pāla. We do

not know the circumstances, nor the nature and effects of this rebellion, but the successful revolt under a Kaivarta official shows that the so-called lower castes in Bengal were neither social outcastes, nor without political significance and power.

After a period of about 400 years, (750-1155), the Buddhist Pāla kings were supplanted by Senas whose ancestors seems to have hailed from Karṇāṭaka. The greatest king of this dynasty was Vijaya-sena, (c.1095-1158) who was succeeded by his son Vallāla-sena, the author of the *Dāna-sāgara* and the *Adbhuta-sāgara*, the first being a legal work on gifts, while the second is a work on omens and portents, their effects, and means of averting them.

Lakṣmaṇa-sena (c.1179-1206) is today chiefly remembered as the man who lost his throne to the Muslim invaders. But in his earlier days he distinguished himself in military pursuits. His own copper plates and those of his sons refer to his victories over the neighbouring kings in all directions. As mentioned above, the official records of his two ancestors describe them as *Parama-māheśvara*, but in Lakṣmaṇa-sena's records the phrase is substituted by *Parama-vaiṣṇava* or *Parama-Nārasiṁha*, both for himself and his father. This shows his strong Vaiṣṇavite leaning. As mentioned above, he was himself a minor-poet, but what is more important is that, Jayadeva, the author of the *Gīta-Govinda* was his court-poet.

Navadvīpa or Nadiā, Caitanya's birth-place, was probably a centre of learning even during the Sena period. Here Lakṣmaṇa-sena was staying in 1204 or 1205 when the sudden appearance of a Muslim army under an intrepid leader, Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Muhammad Bakhtiyār Khaljī forced him to leave the city and retire to East Bengal, now East Pakistan, where he ruled till at least 1206 and his descendants for more than half a century thereafter. But Bakhtiyār's invasion definitely ushered in a new period in the history of Bengal.

We need not go into the details of Bakhtiyār Khaljī's career, nor that of his immediate successor till we reach the reign of Tughral Tughān Khān, a contemporary of Queen Raziya (1236-1240). During the reign of Tughān Khān, Gaṁga king Narasiṁhadeva I of Orissa twice invaded Bengal. After the first invasion Tughān Khān received help from the Muslim Governor of Oudh, and managed to force the Orissa king to raise the siege of Lakhnauti (Malda District).

Orissa army again invaded Bengal during the governorship of Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Yuzbak Tughral Khān, who later declared his independence and was known as Sultān Mughīs-ud-dīn. Orissa army

was defeated in first three conflicts, but won the last battle, and is said to have captured a valuable white elephant. Possibly as a result of these wars, Orissa extended her hegemony over the present Midnapore District, and parts of Birbhum, Burdwan, Bankura and Hooghly Districts. We shall now turn to the history of Orissa.

3

Orissa, or more properly Kaliṁga, was conquered by Aśoka, but thereafter her history is obscure. The veil is lifted by Khāravela, who probably ruled during the first century B.C. Thereafter various dynasties ruled over the country like the Śailodbhavas, Karas, Bhañjas and several minor dynasties. Emperor Rājarāja Coḷa conquered Kaliṅga some time before 1003, and his son Rājendra set up pillars of victory on Mount Mahendra in Kaliṁga, probably during his father's reign. Soon after the Greater Gaṁga kings seems to have consolidated their power in Orissa, as the subordinate allies of the Coḷas. The greatest king of this dynasty was Anantavarman Choḍagaṁga (c. 1078-1150) who founded the Jagannātha temple at Puri. It was his descendant, Narasiṁha I (c. 1238-1264) who successfully carried a raid against the Muslim ruler of Bengal during 1243-45 and advanced as far as Laknauati as mentioned above. Though he was forced to retreat from north Bengal, he maintained for some time his position in West Bengal up to the river Ganges, which according to one of his inscriptions 'assumed the dark countenance of the Yamunā by the collyrium-stained tears of the Yavana women of Rāḍhā and Varendra. (West and North Bengal)'.

The reign of Narasiṁha's two successors Bhānudeva I (1264-79) and Narasiṁha II (1279-1306) are not of much political importance. But during 1281-93, Narahari Tīrtha, a direct disciple of Madhva, acted as the regent of the king of Orissa. Narahari's earliest inscription is dated A.D. 1264 in which he is designated as *Śrī-pāda*. As this indicates a high position in a religious order it has been suggested that, Narahari had been converted before that date. Narahari's official position may have improved the position of the Madhva sect in Orissa, but of his religious activities during his period of regency we have no evidence. After retirement, in 1324, he became the pontiff of the Madhva order second in succession to Madhva.[1]

Narasiṁha II was succeeded by Bhānudeva II (1306-1328) who defeated Ulugh Khan (later Muhammad bin Tughluq) during the reign of the latter's father Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq. Bhānudeva was succeeded by his son Narasiṁha III (1328-1352), who enjoyed an uneventful reign. He was succeeded by Bhānudeva III, during

whose reign (1352-1378) Orissa began to show sign of decay. First Sultān Shams-ud-dīn Ilyās Shāh of Bengal raided Orissa and carried away a rich booty including 44 elephants. But more disastrous was the sudden invasion of Orissa by Sultān Firūz Shāh Tughluq in 1360-61. Bhānudeva was taken by surprise and had to flee, whereupon Firūz indulged in an orgy of massacre, loot, and destruction, including the desecration of the temple at Puri. Orissa was also troubled by attacks by the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu.

We need not go into the details of these political events, but Bhānudeva IV the last king of the dynasty got involved in protracted war with the Reḍḍis and the Vijayanagara emperors. Dismayed at his defeats in the field, the ministers took advantage of the king's long absence from the capital, and raised one Kapilendra to the throne of Orissa (c. 1434).

The dynasty established by Kapilendra is usually known as the Gajapati, and Pratāparudra, during whose reign Caitanya lived in Orissa was Kapilendra's grandson. Kapilendra's reign was politically very successful. In several compaigns he successively defeated the Sultān of Bengal, the Bahmanī Sultān and the Vijayanagara emperor, and extended his kingdom, which at one time stretched from the Ganges to Kāñcī. He was the most powerful Hindu monarch of his time.

Kapilendra died about 1467 and was succeeded by his son Puruṣottama, who died in 1497 and was succeeded by his son Pratāparudra, whose name is for ever associated with the great monk who passed practically half of his life in his capital. While Pratāparudra was away in the south with his army, where he stayed at least up to October 1510, Sultān Husain Shāh of Bengal invaded Orissa, captured Puri, and is said to have destroyed the idols. Pratāparudra immediately returned, and Husain Shāh took refuge in the fort of Māndāraṇ (Hooghly District). Pratāparudra beseiged the fort, but due to the treachery of one of his generals, Govinda Vidyādhara, was compelled to come to terms with Husain Shāh.

Two important events happened during this time; one was the accession of Kṛṣṇadevarāya to the Vijayanagara throne in 1509, and the second was the arrival of Caitanya to Puri in 1510. Kṛṣṇadevarāya was the greatest of the Vijayanagara emperors. In 1513, he declared war against the Gajapati, which lasted for five years. During this period Kṛṣṇadevarāya gained great victories and ultimately Pratāparudra was forced to come to terms with him by ceding the entire territory south of the Kṛṣṇā. Pratāparudra also gave his daughter in marriage to Kṛṣṇadevarāya, but the latter is said

to have neglected her. Pratāparudra probably tried to regain his lost territories after the death of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, (1529) but his attempts were unsuccessful. Pratapārudra also lost Telengana to Qulī Qutb-ul-mulk, a governor of the Bahmanī king, and later the founder of the kingdom of Golkonda. Later, Qutb-ul-mulk also conquered the Kṛṣnā-Godāvarī *doab* from Pratāparudra.

It should be noted that Pratāparudra's defeats were not due to his innate incapacity or religious proclivities. He was possibly no military genius, but few even among geniuses could have withstood for long almost continuous attacks from three neighbouring enemies. It appears from Caitanya's biography, that an army was constantly on guard against any invasion from Bengal. Possibly similar armies had to be maintained against the Bahmanīs and Vijayanagara even when actual fighting was not in progress. Some historians have seen Caitanya's influence in the downfall of Orissa's political power under Pratāparudra. We have discussed this point elsewhere,[2] and here it is sufficient to say that the evidence on which this theory is based is most unsatisfactory; analysis of the political situation can adequately explain Pratāparudra's discomfiture, and it is quite unnecessary to besmirch Caitanya's name.

4

We shall now make a brief reference to the history of Bengal in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. About 1343, Shams-ud-dīn Ilyās Shāh established a dynasty in Bengal which reigned for nearly a century. We have already referred to Ilyās Shāh's invasion of Orissa. Some time after 1415, a Hindu, named Gaṇeśa, usurped the throne of Bengal deposing the last Ilyās Shāhī king. He reigned for a few years, and was succeeded by his son, who adopted Islām and was known as Jalāl-ud-dīn.

We need not concern ourselves with Jalāl-ud-dīn and his successors, the last of whom died about 1437, and was succeeded by one Nasīr-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh, who was most probably defeated by Kapilendra. Nasīr-ud-dīn was succeeded by Rukn-un-dīn Bārbak Shāh (1455-1476) who was one of the greatest Sultāns of Bengal. He not only extended his kingdom and administered it efficiently, but what was unique in that age, he extended his patronage to Hindu scholars and poets, of whom the most important was Bṛhaspati Miśra, usually known as Rāya-mukuṭa, a title bestowed on him by Bārbak Shāh. He was the famous commentator of the *Amarakośa* and other texts. Mālādhar Basu, the author of the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-vijaya*, mentioned above, also received his title of *Guṇarāja-khān* from this

king, and it is also possible that Kṛttivāsa, the author of the still popular Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa* was warmly received by Bārbak Shāh.

Bārbak Shāh also employed many Hindus in responsible posts. It is evident that he was following a successful policy of reconciling the Hindus to the Muslim rule. But his son and successor, Shams-ud-dīn Yūsuf Shāh (1476-81) was an intolerant bigot and destroyed many temples and idols. He was succeeded by his son Sikandar Shāh, who was either extremely incompetent or mad; in any case he was removed from the throne after a reign of a few months and was succeeded by his uncle Jalāl-ud-dīn Fath Shāh also known as Husain Shāh (1481-88). Caitanya was born during the reign of this monarch.

There is some evidence to show that Jalāl-ud-dīn persecuted his subjects particularly the *brāhmaṇas* of Navadvīpa. There may be several reasons for this, one being the Sultān's innate bigotry. However, Caitanya's biographers write that shortly before his birth a rumour predicting the advent of a *brāhmaṇa* king in Bengal had caught the popular imagination. With the memory of Rājā Gaṇeśa still fresh in mind, it would not have been unnatural for the Sultān to take suitable steps for preventing such an eventuality. Moreover Jalāl-ud-dīn was a stern man if not a tyrant. He was ultimately murdered by his palace-guards and four shadow kings ruled successively for short periods and it is evident that anarchy prevailed. Ultimately, authority was once more restored by 'Ālā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh, acknowledged as the greatest Sultān of Bengal (1493-1519). From the beginning of his reign Husain Shāh got involved in protracted war with Orissa. It is claimed on the basis of some evidence like the *Mādalā-pāñjī*, that Husain Shāh destroyed almost all the idols in the Jagannātha temple and threw the image of Jagannātha in the Chilka lake. These incidents are supposed to have taken place during 1509-10. Caitanya's biographies also mention the destruction of many temples in Orissa by Husain Shah, but they are silent about the Jagannātha Temple. It is quite possible that Husain Shah had damaged and destroyed many temples, but there are reasonable grounds of doubt about his destruction of Jagannātha's image.

From Caitanyas biographies we learn that when he arrived at Puri in the beginning of 1510, Husain Shāh had already left Orissa but Pratāparudra had not yet returned from his southern campaign (in which he was engaged when Husain Shāh raided Orissa.) But Caitanya visited the temple and saw the image of Jagannātha. It is of course possible that a new image had been installed as soon as Husain Shāh left Puri, but it is improbable that such a grave step

should have been taken before Pratāparudra's return. Moreover, the transport of the huge idol to Chilka would pose a problem at any time, and would be the most foolhardy venture with Pratāp-rudra's main army advancing from the south. Moreover, the purpose of destruction would have been accomplished by burning the idol within the precincts of the temple. It is also evident from the detailed description of Caitanya's biography, that by the time Caitanya entered Orissa, the Orissa army was secure on their side of the Ganges which formed the frontier. From this it appears that even before Pratāparudra had arrived, the Orissa army had retrieved the position; that is to say, there were sufficient opposition to Husain Shāh which would deter him from carrying the idol to Chilka. For these reasons, it seems that the story of Husain Shah's destruction of the image of Jagannātha is not true. Desecration of the temple is of course a different matter, and this is probably what Husain Shāh did.

Husain Shāh followed a liberal policy towards his Hindu subjects, at least so far as appointments were concerned. Two of his principal officers were the brothers Rūpa and Sanātana, later to become the chief exponents of Caitanya's doctrine. There were also other Hindu officials.

It is sometimes suggested that, Muslim Sultāns like Bārbak Shāh and others were responsible for the rise and development of the Bengali literature during this period. The claim is not only exaggerated, but overlooks the fact that throughout India during this time, vernacular languages were first developing under the urge of what is now known as the *bhakti* movement, and in many instances it will be found that the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, and the *Bh. P.*, were the texts which for obvious reasons were the first to be translated.[3] However, it is also true that one Muslim king and two officials of this period took unusual interest in Hindu literature. We have already noted Māladhar Basu's translation of the *Bh. P.*; the first translation of the *Mahābhārata* in Bengal was done at the instance of Parāgal Khān, Governor of Chittagong under Sultān Husain Shāh (1493-1519). The translation was done by Parāgal's court-poet Kavīndra Parameśvara. Parāgal's son Nasrat Khān, usually known as Chuti Khān, employed his court-poet Śrikara Nandī to translate Jaiminī's *Aśvamedha-parva*.

We can close the account of the Sultāns of Bengal with Husain Shāh, for his successors do not feature in Caitanya's biography. Here a question may be asked as to the political condition of the Hindus during this period. From the nature of the evidence we have—namely, stray reference in contemporary literature,—mainly

Caitanya's biographies,—it is evident that they were not happy under Muslim rule, to which they had never reconciled themselves. Their repugnance for the Muslim rulers was aggravated by the latter's destruction of temples and images. Here we may note that, under the interpretation of Muslim law prevailing in India, though the existing temples in one's own kingdom were protected, construction of new temples were forbidden and punishable under the law, and it was lawful for a Muslim king to destroy the temples of an invaded country. Hence it is quite likely that men like Husain Shāh would destroy the temples in Orissa, but would have left in peace the temples in Bengal. That, however, could be of little consolation to the Hindus. There are also evidence that individual Hindus had to suffer indignities not only from the king, but from Muslim officials, even when no active persecution of the Hindus was in progress, of which actually there is no evidence. However, one point in favour of the Sultāns of Bengal should be remembered. It could not have been unknown to them that, one of their subjects called Caitanya was enjoying the patronage of the Orissa king, their inveterate enemy, and a large number of Bengalis were annually visiting Caitanya at Puri. But apparently they took no notice of these religious activities.

On the other hand it should be remembered that the Hindus throughout India were rising against the Muslims, of which the most notable example was the resurgence of the Hindu power in South India under the Vijayanagara empire particularly, under Kṛṣṇadevarāya, (1509-1529) Caitanya's contemporary. In Malwa, Sultān Mahmūd Shāh II (1511-1531) took temporary refuge in Gujarat, practically driven out of his kingdom by his Hindu officials. Mewar had become a great power under Mahārāṇā Kumbha (1433-1473) who in turn defeated all the neighbouring kings, though his memory lives today in his *Rasikapriyā* commentary on the *Gīta-Govinda,* which Caitanya may have read. The next great ruler of Mewar was Mahārāṇā Sāṁgā, born in 1482, four years before Caitanya. He ascended the throne in 1509,—the year Caitanya became a monk—and died in 1528, a year about after the disastrous battle of Khanua (March, 1527). However, it is quite possible that if Bābur had not intervened, Mahārāṇa Sāṁgā would have made a strong bid for the throne of Delhi, possibly successfully.

Thus with strong Hindu kingdoms, in many parts of India, and with the Orissa kings as neighbour, it would not be strange for a Muslim king of Bengal to keep a close watch on his Hindu subjects, and cow them down occasionally as a precautionary measure against rebellion, for which Rājā Gaṇeśa afforded an historical precedent.

5

But whatever the political situation, it had not crushed the intellectual class. Navadvīpa, or as it is usually called, Nadiā, was already a famous centre of learning when Caitanya was born, and probably it always had been; for there is no evidence that it was the permanent capital of the Senas. It was probably considered a holy place where the aged Lakṣmaṇa-sena had come to spend his old age. Even so in the beginning of the 13th century, the city of Nadiā 'consisted almost entirely of thatched bamboo houses—the characteristic feature of Bengali architecture, whence the name of *Bangālā* given even to the stone edifices in Delhi Fort built in this style of arched bamboo roof', and now Anglicized into 'bungalow'.

It is peculiar that though Nadiā was the first city in Bengal to be captured by the Muslims, it became under Muslim rule the greatest centre of Brahmanical learning, not only in Bengal, but in eastern India. This enviable position it had been enjoying for some time even before Caitanya's birth, for we find that scholars from all over Bengal coming to Nadiā for studies even before he was born. However, Nadiā's reputation was mainly due to a band of scholars, most of whom were Caitanya's contemporaries.

Navadvīpa was soon to become famous as a centre of study for *Navya-nyāya* or neo-logic. The study of this subject actually had begun in Mithilā, where Gaṁgeśa Upādhyāya wrote his celebrated *Tattvacintāmaṇi* in the 13th century. Then after a long gap, came Jayadeva Miśra better known as Pakṣadhara, probably in the 15th century. Almost at the same time the subject was introduced in Bengal, by Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma. According to popular tradition, Caitanya, Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, Smārta Raghunandana and Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa were all Vāsudeva's students, but this is doubtful. According to Jayānanda's *Caitanyamaṁgala*, admittedly an unreliable work, Sārvabhauma, unable to stand the iconoclastic activities of Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Fath Shāh, left Nadiā with his family and migrated to Puri. It is, however, definite that when Caitanya came to Puri, Sārvabhauma was there, greatly honoured by King Pratāparudra. We shall have occasion to say more about Sārvabhauma in connection with Caitanya.

Raghunātha Śiromaṇi was possibly the greatest *naiyāyika* of all time, and it was he who firmly established the study of *Navya-nyāya* in Nadiā, so that henceforth, Nadiā replaced Mithilā as the all-India centre for the study of logic.

Raghunandana is still known as 'Smārta' or 'Smārta Bhaṭṭācārya', so greatly did he influence the study of Smṛti literature by his voluminous writing.

And last but not the least of this galaxy of scholars was Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, whose *Tantrasāra* soon became a standard text of the subject.

The date of none of these scholars can be fixed, but there is no doubt that they were Caitanya's contemporaries.

It may not be out of place to include here the name of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, the last of the great *Advaita-vedāntins*. His exact dates are not known, but it is almost certain that he was born within about two decades after Caitanya. Madhusūdana settled at Vārānasī, then the centre of monists, and soon became their recognized leader. It is possible, however, that with all his great erudition, he could not escape the pervasive influence of Caitanya's doctrine, which had by his time overpowered the Bengali intellectuals. Whatever the reason, the fact is that Madhusūdana wrote several texts on *bhakti*, and had it not been for the notorious (?) fact that he was the author of the *Advaita-siddhi,* the last word on monism, his works might have won the approval of the *vaiṣṇavas*. Jīva Gosvāmin studied under a Madhusūdana Sarasvati at Vārānasī, and it is quite likely that this teacher was none other than this great *advaita* scholar.[4]

We are not including here other scholars like the Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins* who were directly influenced by Caitanya. Still it has to be pointed out that, the century following Caitanya's birth was in many ways comparable to the 19th century in Bengal so far as literary and religious activities were concerned. For the 19th century 'renaissance' the advent of British rule and freedom from Muslim oppression are usually taken to be the determining factors. What then could have been the factors responsible for the birth of Bengali literature in Caitanya-age? Is it possible that the Hindus, though still under Muslim rule, had shed their fear and rejuvenated the society? Did Caitanya play a revolutionary role and freed his countrymen from fear? Possibly he did, but his 'revolution' was not political, neither in intent nor in content; it went much deeper. In those days ideology was based on religion, not politics; therefore a person owed allegiance to a religion or a religious group. And so long as a man could perform his religious rites, and discharge his social obligations, he seems to have been satisfied. There was dissatisfaction against alien rule, but it was never canalized into a popular revolutionary movement; at least we have no evidence that it was.

1. B. N. K. Sharma: *A History of the Dvaita School of Vedanta;* Bombay, 1960, p. 296.
2. R. C. Majumdar, Ed. *The History and Culture of the Indian People,* Vol. VI, *The Delhi Sultanate,* Bombay, 1960, pp. 370-71.
3. For a short account of the development of the provincial literature see A. K. Majumdar: *Bhakti Renaissance.*
4. Dr. B. B. Majumdar thinks that Jīva's teacher and the monist were not identical: B. B. Majumdar; *Śrī Caitanya-cariter Upādān,* (Bengali), 2nd ed., pp. 157-58. Dr. Majumdar has reached this conclusion mainly on an assumed date of Madhusūdana's birth. However, it should be remembered that in those days extremely young men became teachers, and Caitanya himself opened his school when about 16 years old. Similarly Madhusūdana's career as a teacher may have begun at an early age. Majumdar has also suggested the probability of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's academic title really being *vākpati* on the basis of the following verse:

   Navadvīpe samāyāte Madhusūdana-vākpatau
   cakampe Tarkvāgīśa kātaro'bhud Gadādharaḥ

   (When Madhusūdana Vākpati came to Navadvīpa, Tarkavāgīśā began to shiver, and Gadādhara became confused.)

   But another popular verse shows that he was indeed known as *Sarasvatī:*

   Sarasvatyāḥ pāraṁ vetti Madhusūdana-Sarasvatī
   Madhusūdana-Sarsavatyāḥ pāraṁ vetti Sarasvatī.

   '(Only) Madhusūdana Sarasvatī knows the limit of Sarasvatī's (knowledge) and Sarasvatī (alone) knows Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's knowledge.' Obviously this is a pun, suggested by his title. As for the first verse *vākpati* seems to have been used for the sake of metre.

CHAPTER VII

MATERIALS FOR CAITANYA'S BIOGRAPHY

1

Among Caitanya's companions, fifty-eight became more or less famous as poets, and Dr. B. B. Majumdar, to whom we owe this information, remarks that, beginning from Confucius down to Madame Blavatsky, no founder of a religious order is known to have attracted so many poets.[1] Most of their works have fortunately survived, and are available; as a result Caitanya's modern biographer is presented with an *embarrass de richesse*. But as we shall presently see, while the wealth of source-material is undeniable, their conflicting statements as to details are not only embarrassing, but sometimes form an impediment to the writing of a coherent account of Caitanya's life.

We shall not take into consideration the devotional lyrics on Caitanya by his contemporaries; their worth as source-material may not be inconsiderable, but their main value is literary, and, in any case, we have much better material to rely upon. These are, (1) Murāri Gupta's *Kaḍacā*; (2) Three works by Kavi-karṇapūra, (3) *Caitanya-bhāgavata* by Vṛndāvan-dās; (4) *Caitanya-maṁgala* by Jayānanda; (5) *Śrī-Caitanya maṁgala* by Locan; (6) *Śrī-Caitanya-caritāmṛta* by Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj; and (7) Govinda-dās's *Kaḍacā*.[2] All these books and many more, including Oriya and Assamese works on Caitanya have been analysed and discussed by Dr. B. B. Majumdar in his book *Śrī-Caitanya-cariter Upādān* (1939) covering 738 pages, (with index 754 pages). This is a great work of modern scholarship, which it took the author more than two decades of hard labour to complete. Any biographer of Caitanya will remain grateful to Dr. Majumdar, but it is obvious that we cannot give even a summary of his work here. However, we shall give short accounts of Caitanya's principal biographies, which have been mentioned above.

(1) *Murāri Gupta*

The earliest available work on Caitanya's life is the Sanskrit *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, or simply *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Murāri Gupta. Murāri was one of Caitanya's closest associates in Navadvīpa, and as we shall see, many incidents of Caitanya's life

of this period are linked with him. According to Majumdar, Murāri's work seems to have been completed within a decade of Caitanya's death.[3] It is apparent, therefore, that its value as a source-material is very high, and it was drawn upon freely by later biographers. There is, however, some doubt about the genuineness of the published version of Murāri's work, but Majumdar is of the opinion that the Amṛtabazar edition of the text is more or less dependable, though it may contain a few interpolations.[4] This defect, as he rightly points out, is to be found in almost every old text.

Murāri's work is usually known as a *kaḍacā* or a brief biographical account, but the printed text is a regular *kāvya* of four sections subdivided into seventy-eight cantos, in which it portrays practically the whole career of Caitanya.

(2) *Kavi-karṇapūra*

Kavi-karṇapūra's name was Paramānanda Sen. He was the youngest son of Śivānanda Sen, Caitanya's well-known devotee. When he was about five years old, Śivānanda took Paramānanda to Caitanya at Puri, where the unusually grave child being asked by Caitanya to say something, suddenly poured forth in difficult Āryā metre:

śravasoḥ kuvalayam akṣṇor añjanam uraso
Mahendra-maṇi-dāma
Vṛndāvana-ramaṇīnāṁ maṇḍanam akhilaṁ Hari-jayati[5]

Caitanya was delighted as well as astonished like everyone present there, at the performance of the precocious child and conferred on him the title of *Kavi-karṇapūra* (ear-ornament of poets). This precocious trait persisted and probably at the age of sixteen he wrote his book *Śrī-Caitanya-caritāmṛta-mahākāvya*. At the end of this work he has openly acknowledged his indebtedness to Murāri Gupta's work mentioned above. However, as Majumdar has shown, Kavi-karṇapūra has followed Murāri up to the 11th canto and thereafter, he seems to have relied on information gathered from his father and the latter's friends.

The work consists of twenty cantos and over 1900 verses and gives a complete account of Caitanya's life.

Kavi-karṇapūra's second work is the ten-act drama, *Śrī-Caitanya-candrodaya*. It is a more mature work, but possibly modelled on the *Prabodha-candrodaya*.

Both the works have been utilized to greater or lesser extent by the subsequent biographers, but it is a strange fact that in spite of their being written in Sanskrit—then considered as the divine

language—they have not enjoyed much popularity among the *vaiṣṇavas* of Bengal.[6] This may have been due to the fact that Kavi-karṇapūra did not belong to the group of *gosvāmins* of Vṛndāvana, whose authority, particularly of the brothers Rūp and Sanātan, was derived from Caitanya himself, as we shall see later. Secondly, Kavi-karṇapūra was preaching the doctrine that the worship of Caitanya was an end in itself, while the Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins* admitted such worship as a means to an end, the end being to attain Kṛṣṇa.

Kavi-karṇapūra has written another book called the *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā,* which identifies Caitanya's associates with their counterparts in Kṛṣṇa's *Vraja-līlā.* Here again Kavi-karṇapūra has differed from the *gosvāmins* of Vṛndāvana, and in one instance, has quoted the opinion of Dāmodar Svarūp—Caitanya's most favoured associate at Puri—only to contradict him. Majumdar remarks that this shows that the work has been correctly ascribed to Kavi-karṇapūra, for only Śivānanda's son could have had the temerity to contradict Dāmodar Svarūp. But this act must be considered to be the height of indiscretion; for, apart from the inadvisability of contradicting Dāmodar Svarūp in a purely theological work, Kavi-karṇapūra has here grossly violated a self-imposed rule of all the *vaiṣṇavas,* that is, not to spell out the difference with or show the mistake of an earlier *vaiṣṇava* writer, specially of Dāmodar Svarūp's stature. But the greatest mistake of Kavi-karṇapūra seems to have been to include Caitanya in the Mādhva sect. We shall discuss this point later, here it is sufficient to say that, whatever be the justification of this view, it was against the tenets preached by the Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins.*

(3) *Vṛndāvan-dās*

Caitanya's earliest Bengali biography, the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* was written by Vṛndāvan-dās at the command of Nityānanda, Caitanya's most important associate. It contains 52 chapters divided into three *khaṇḍas* (parts), namely, (1) *Ādi,* (first) ending with Caitanya's visit to Gaya; (2) *Madhya* (middle) ending with his *sannyāsa;* and (3) *Anta* (end) dealing with the remainder of his life. Its date is uncertain, but seems to have been written within about two decades of Caitanya's death. Vṛndāvan-dās was the son of Nārāyaṇī, who was Śrīvās's niece, and Śrīvās was one of the five chief personalities of Caitanya's sect. It was in Śrīvās's courtyard that Caitanya used to perform the *saṁkīrtanas* while he was in Navadvīpa, and it was here that Nārāyaṇī, as a girl of four, saw the Master and was petted by him. Vṛndāvan-dās was born after Caitanya's last visit to Navadvīpa, and several times in his work he

laments this misfortune. It is apparent that he did never see Caitanya, but got his materials mostly from others including possibly Nityānanda.

We shall presently discuss the historical value of these biographies. It is sufficient to state here that Vṛndāvan-dās's work is a landmark in the history of Bengali literature, particularly devotional literature, and biography, in which field his is the pioneer work, but without any crudity which one might expect from an experimental work. The author was inspired by devotion and sustained by love, and for four centuries he has been able to communicate his feelings to his readers. Of all Caitanya's biography, this is probably the most popular.

4. *Jayānanda*

Jayānanda's work entitled *Caitanya-maṁgala* is divided into nine parts, namely, *Ādi-*, *Nadīyā-*, *Vairāgya-*, *Sannyāsa-*, *Utkala-*, *Tīrtha-*, *Prakāśā-*, *Vijaya-*, and *Uttara-khaṇḍa*. Jayānanda's father Subuddhi Miśra appears to have been a disciple of Caitanya's companion Gadādhara. Once when Jayānanda was an infant in his mother's arm, Caitanya came to Subuddhi's house, and, finding that the latter's son had been given an uncouth name, renamed him Jayānanda.

Jayānanda, like his father, was a disciple of Gadādhara and it was at the latter's instance that he wrote the *Caitanya-maṁgala*.

Jayānanda's work contains many informations, not improbable in themselves, and unavailable elsewhere. But it seems to have been absolutely unknown to the Bengali *vaiṣṇavas* before its publication.[7] Majumdar has assigned three reasons for this neglect: firstly, Jayānanda preached a doctrine which had little in common with Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavism; secondly, his absence of historical sense; and thirdly, the mistakes which he has committed. Moreover a comparison of the present published text, with an incomplete MSS. of the work in the Dacca University collection shows material differences of reading. Hence we shall hardly make any use of Jayānanda's *Caitanya-maṁgala* in the present work.

5. *Locan-dās*

Locan-das's work is also known as the *Caitanya-maṁgala*. It is divided into four parts, namely, *Sūtra-*, *Ādi-*, *Madhya-*, and *Śeṣa-khaṇḍa*, but there are no definite division of chapters. Locan was also the composer of a number of devotional songs, and the lyrical quality of his *Caitanya-maṁgala* is very high. It is based on Murāri Gupta's *Kaḍacā*, mentioned above, but Locan has added some infor-

mation which he obtained elsewhere, possibly from his preceptor Narahari Sarkar, one of Caitanya's companions. But as a source material for Caitanya's biography, Locan's work has little to recommend itself. The outstanding feature of the work, is the deep devotional attitude of its author. Though all the biographers considered Caitanya as a divine incarnation, Locan differed from the others in that he was incapable of ascribing to the Master any human attribute. One has, therefore to interpret his work on the basis of his immortal lines:

amiyā mathiyā ke vā
navanī tulila go,
tāhāte gaḍhila Gorādeha (*Madhya*, p. 102).

These lines, impossible to translate, are fit material for mystic contemplation, but a biography written with a view to establishing such devotional sentiments can hardly be historical, and there are enough indications in the work itself that it is not, and probably was not intended to be an historical work.

The date of Locan's work is not known. But his preceptor, Narahari, was Caitanya's contemporary; Locan has mentioned Vṛndāvan-dās's work but has not mentioned the work of Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj. Hence it may be presumed that he wrote some time between 1550 to 1612.

(6) *Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj*

Kṛṣṇa-dās's work, *Śrī-Caitanya-caritāmṛta,* is the authorized biography of Caitanya, if we may use the term. Kṛṣṇa-dās has made considerable use of his predecessors, namely, Murāri, Dāmodar Svarūp (this work is not available now), Kavi-karṇapūra and Vṛndāvan-dās, and states that he wrote with the express permission of the last mentioned author. One can also be almost certain that Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj also depended upon the personal reminiscences of the Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins*, who indeed prompted him to write this work as a supplement to Vṛndāvan-dās's work. The fact is that the early phase of Caitanya's life was adequately recorded by Vṛndāvan-dās, for which evidently he could collect ample material. But his treatment of the later phase of Caitanya's life, that is after the Master left Navadvīpa, is meagre. It is this lacuna which Kṛṣṇa-dās fills, and he makes it quite clear that, for the earlier part one should read Vṛndāvan-dās which possibly had become a classic by the time Kṛṣṇa-dās took up writing the *CC*.

Apart from its being a biography, Kṛṣṇa-dās's work is an epitome of Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇava* philosophy. Among all the biographers, he alone had the unique fortune of studying under the Vṛndāvana-

gosvāmins,[8] men of massive scholarship and great literary capacity, theologians and poets as well as ascetic devotees. Kṛṣṇa-dās was a worthy disciple, and vindicated the trust reposed in him by his teachers of writing the Master's life. The acute philosophical and theological problems have been dealt by him in simplest terms yet with perfect exactitude. His writing in places is slightly heavy, but in an inept hand such philosophical discussion in verse would have become unintelligible. Even so, throughout his work he leaves the stamp of an authentic poet.

The literary merit of Kṛṣṇa-dās's work has been questioned by Dr. S. K. De who writes: 'In literary merit the work, with its epic length, prolixity and prosiness, is much inferior to its prototype (Vṛndāvan-dās's *Caitanya-bhāgavata*). The style is terse, but not very elegant or attractive, and the versification poor and faulty. The author cares little for the picturesque, poetic or human possibilities of the theme; and his long residence outside Bengal, as well as his greater familiarity with languages other than Bengali, is perhaps responsible for its quaint and laboured diction.' However, Dr. De adds: 'The picture of a life, devoid of striking external incidents but rich in impassioned religious consciousness, is marvellously well drawn....The *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* is indeed a great work in Middle Bengali but its greatness consists not so much in the literary skill or narrative interest with which the story of a great life is told, as in the profound scholasticism with which it presents and exemplifies the entire theology of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism (as propounded by the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins) in the life of the Master.... It is more than a biography. It is a remarkable medieval document of mature theological scholarship, which is by no means easy or elegant to read, and which perhaps presents Caitanya and his simple impassioned faith in a distorted perspective; but from the specialist point of view, it is a work of rare merit and gives a complete exposition of the scholastic theological pre-suppositions of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.'[9]

It is, however, as an historian that Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj has been most severely criticized. His chronology is not too good, he avidly believes in supernatural happenings, and what is possibly even worse, he does not hesitate even at the risk of anachronism and absurdity to make Caitanya utter passages from works of late writers, like the Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins* and occasionally of himself.

In defence of Kṛṣṇa-dās it may be pointed out that the writing of history, as we understand it today, was practically unknown in India. Therefore, Vṛndāvan-dās and Kṛṣṇa-dās must be given credit for what they achieved.

The other accusations are not so easy to explain away. As we shall see Kṛṣṇa-dās has indeed related a large number of tales about Caitanya which defies rational explanation; so has Vṛndāvan-dās and all the other biographers; but possibly Kṛṣṇa-dās has retold the largest number. However, it is not the number that matters; the mind that can believe one supra-rational story, can believe any number, and from that point of view Kṛṣṇa-dās was quite justified in collecting as many miracles about Caitanya as he could.

We have stated above, that mythology is an essential component of every religion; and there has been no great religious leader who has not performed some miracles. The basis of religion is not scientific empiricism or rationalism, it is miraculous mysticism. It is not difficult to think of something like the Sermon on the Mount, but it needed a man born of immaculate conception to establish is as a creed. Thus miracles must be admitted as a part of the biography of a religious leader. Even so, the critics argue that Kṛṣṇa-dās has got more miracles than his predecessors; where did he get them? The answer is that, he might have heard the stories from his teachers at Vṛndāvana or the devotees who came to visit them; for, here we must be dogmatic in the sense that, we must dismiss the idea that this old *vaiṣṇava* was capable of fabricating a story about his Master, which he knew was not true.

Now we come to the third charge, namely, that, Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj has made Caitanya utter verses which were composed by the *gosvāmins* long after his death. This point has been discussed below in the appendix to Chapter XVI, where it has been shown that this anomaly has probably a simple explanation. It may be noted here that Thucydides, the 'father of history' is equally guilty in this respect. Referring to the speeches in his work, Thucydides remarks that it was his habit 'to make the speakers say what in my opinion was demanded of them by the various occasions'.[10]

Another charge against Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj is that some of the incidents described by him are not historical. These include Caitanya's meetings with Vallabhācārya and Prakāśānanda. These incidents have been described below in Chapter XVIII and discussed in the appendix. Here it is sufficient to say that the incidents described by Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj is at least partially corroborated by other sources, and appear to be quite correct.

(7) *Govinda-dās*

The authenticity of Govinda-das's *Kaḍacā* has been as violently disputed as it has been accepted. It is quite possible, as is claimed, that Caitanya during his travel in South India was accompanied by

a servant called Govinda-dās, who wrote a short account of their tour. But the available printed edition is certainly corrupt, and the MSS., from which it was printed, is missing. This makes it very difficult to use the book, but it is not quite necessary to do so. Caitanya's biography can be written without the help of Govinda-dās's *Kaḍacā*, and that is what we shall do.

2

We have given above short accounts of the principal source-materials for Caitanya's biography. There are not many better biographies in Bengali. But the trouble starts as soon as one begins to correlate or even attempt to reconcile the evidence as contained in these biographies.

We shall give a simple example. Caitanya's nickname was Nimāi. According to the *C.Bh.* (I. iv) the ladies who had gathered after Caitanya's birth suggested that as the child did not have many elder brothers or sisters (actually he had only one brother living), he should be called Nimāi, which is the usual name for the last born child. According to the *CC.* (I, xiii) the name Nimāi was given by the ladies, to save the child from gnomes and evil spirits. Now, Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj had Vṛndāvan-dās's text before him when he wrote, why then did he differ on this insignificant point? It may be added that, according to a later version Viśvambhara was called Nimāi because he was born under a *Nim* tree.

As we proceed these differences begin to mount, till they become a stumbling block to writing Caitanya's biography. Taking examples at random we might mention the difference among biographers relating the incidents after Caitanya's first visit to Puri. Kavi-karṇapūra in his *Mahākāvya* (XI. 84-86) says that Caitanya on his arrival at Puri went straight to the temple, but in his drama (VI) says that he apprehended that he might not be allowed to enter the temple, so he went to Sārvabhauma's house, and from there accompanied by the latter's son went to the temple. According to the *C.Bh.*, Caitanya not only went alone, but on seeing the idol fell into a trance; at this time Sārvabhauma suddenly appeared and had him carried to his (Sārvabhauma's) residence. According to the *CC*, when Caitanya fell into a trance in the temple, his companions whom he had left behind, as well as Sārvabhauma's son Gopīnāth (not Sarvabhauma) arrived there.

How to reconcile these versions, where again the difference seems to us to be so pointless that they could hardly have been intentional. As for Kavi-karṇapūra, it may be said that he came to possess certain details when he was writing the drama which

was not available to him before. For various reasons, his work was neglected by later writers, but the difference between Vṛndāvan-dās and Kṛṣṇa-dās cannot be explained so easily, particularly when it is remembered, that the former most probably got his details from Nityānanda who was accompanying Caitanya on this occasion. It remains to add that, according to Jayānanda, Caitanya took rest at the *Guṇḍicā-bāḍī*, and then at night proceeded to the temple.

We refrain from giving such examples and the curious reader is referred to B. B. Majumdar's work referred to above, which provides the best critical apparatus on Caitanya's biographies. Here we are forced to dismiss such discussions as not germane to the issue, or as Caitanya is reported to have said on a memorable occasion: '*bāhy-āti-bāhyaṁ bata bāhyam etat*.'[11] We realize that this is not a sound proposition, but once we begin to analyze the evidence and evaluate them before accepting any, we shall land in a morass, from which it will be impossible to extricate ourselves to present a coherent narrative of the Master's life.

We shall therefore give up any attempt at writing Caitanya's biography on strict historical methods. For, we do not want to repeat the futile atempts which have been made in Bengali to perform this impossible feat. The available materials do not allow this to be done, and there is no record, such as inscriptions, with which one could fruitfully compare the literary evidence. We shall, therefore, rely mainly on the *C.Bh.* and the *CC* to write Caitanya's biography. In support of our decision, we may add here that, what the reader will lose in historical methodology, will probably be partly compensated by his gaining an insight into the emotive force behind a dynamic culture. For these two books,—particularly the *CC*,—have been, and still are, regarded as the standard biographies by the *Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavas*. But wherever there are differences between Vṛndāvan-dās and Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj, we shall usually follow the latter.

3

Caitanya's life has provided a perennial theme to Bengali authors, and many modern biographies are available. The most famous of these, in Bengali, the *Amiya-Nimāi-carit* by Sisir Kumar Ghosh, the founder-editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, is a landmark in the history of modern Bengali *bhakti* literature. Sisir Kumar also wrote the *Lord Gauranga*, an English biography of Caitanya in two volumes. These two works describe many incidents not to be found in the authoritative biographies of Caitanya on which the

later works, mentioned below, are based, and it is possible that Sisir Kumar recorded the traditions current among the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* of his time. Sisir Kumar was an ideal *vaiṣṇava,* and his life show that Vaiṣṇavism is not a doctrine of passivity.

Among modern scholars, the most notable and pioneer work was done by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, whose books, namely, *The Vaiṣṇava Literature of Medieval Bengal,* (1917) *Caitanya And His Companions* (1917) and *Caitanya And His Age* (1922) were for long the standard works on the subject. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Caitanya's Life and Teachings* is a translation of the *CC* (the *Madhya* —and *Antya-lila*). A shorter account of Caitanya's life is given by R. Kennedy in his *The Caitanya Movement* (1925).

The latest notable English contribution to modern Caitanya literature is Dr. S. K. De's *Early Vaisnava Faith and Movement in Bengal* (1942) which deals exhaustively with certain aspects of Caitanya's doctrine not to be found elsewhere.

In Bengali, a massive (one might say, forbiddingly so) literature have developed around Caitanya. Not only there are books and articles, but some journals have been devoted to the study of Caitanya's life and teachings; of these the most important is the *Viṣṇupriyā* published by Sisir Kumar Ghosh, from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* office, and sometimes edited by that veteran *vaiṣṇava* scholar, Rasik Mohan Vidyābhūṣaṇa.[12]

Among the more recent Bengali biographies of Caitanya are Girijā Śaṁkar Roy Chaudhury's *Baṁglā Carit-Granthe Śrī-Caitanya* (1949) (Śrī-Caitanya as depicted in his Bengali biographies) and Dr. A. C. Sen's *Itihāser Śrī-Caitanya* (1965) (Śrī-Caitanya of History or The Historical Sri-Caitanya).

Actually Girijā Śaṁkar's book is a collection of lectures delivered on various occasions between 1930 to 1948. Still the lectures have an internal coherence of their own, and present a full length biography, which apart from its other merits is extremely well written. Girijā Śaṁkar has admirably analysed the Bengali biographies mentioned above, and have noted their conflicting statements, but it is difficult to accept many of his conclusions. Girijā Śaṁkar was a great patriot and a well-known literary figure in Calcutta,[13] and most of his conclusions have been coloured by his literary and political outlook. For example, though he admits that Locan's description of Caitanya's adoption of *sannyasa* is not historical,[14] yet he cannot resist the temptation of quoting extensively from Locan's sensuous description of Caitanya's love-making with Viṣṇupriyā, the night before he became a monk. Similarly he has also attri-

buted to some of Caitanya's activities great political significance, which apparently escaped some near contemporary biographers. However, Girijā Śaṁkar's work is a valuable contribution to Caitanya literature.

In *Itihāser Śrī-Caitanya*, Dr. A. C. Sen has attempted to present Caitanya as he was, that is according to Dr. Sen. In this slender volume, Dr. Sen has selected some episodes in Caitanya's life, noted very briefly the description of the biographers, and as they differ on almost every occasion, Dr. Sen has summarily rejected their statements and put forward his own imaginative suggestions as tentative conclusions. As a result we get an idea of how the events should have happened, or in other words, a new set of myths albeit rational myths.

For example, Dr. Sen is somewhat concerned about the financial implications of Caitanya's father's death, and of the former's adopting a monastic life.

Now, no biographer has given any information about the source of income of Caitanya's father Jagannāth Miśra, but there is some evidence that he was poor. There is a tradition that he was a good scholar, and enjoyed the income of a teacher in those days. But as this tradition is not recorded by any biographer, Dr. Sen rejects it and suggests that Jagannāth's only source of income was from his landed property at Sylhet.[15] Why then did Jagannāth settle down at Navadvīpa? Apparently this problem did not occur to Dr. Sen.[16]

Vṛndāvan-dās states that one day Śacī, Caitanya's mother, told him, 'There is nothing left in the house, what will you eat tomorrow?' On hearing this Caitanya went out and returned with two *tolās* of gold. Undoubtedly this is a miracle. But Dr. Sen concludes that it indicates that at this time Śacī's ornaments used to be sold to meet the expenses.[17] Now, there is no evidence to support this conclusion, and it is nothing but a modern myth. Apparently Dr. Sen forgets that Śacī's father had settled in Navadvīpa, and they might have helped her.

Next, in his quest for Caitanya's finance Dr. Sen sends the latter to Sylhet on the authority of the very late writer Cūḍāmaṇi,[18] only a mutilated copy of whose MSS. is available. Actually Dr. Sen has previously stated that he has not much faith in Cūḍāmaṇī.[19] Here, however, he needs Cūḍāmaṇi's help for no one else has mentioned Caitanya's visit to Sylhet. The reason is as follows:

Some time after he took up the profession of a teacher, Caitanya went to East Bengal. There is some evidence that he went there

to earn money, and in any case he returned with some. According to his biographers, the people of East Bengal deeply impressed by his scholarship and devotion gave him ample gifts. But Dr. Sen has already proved to his satisfaction that Caitanya was not a good scholar; hence he rejects this explanation. So with Cūḍāmaṇī's help, he has to take Caitanya to his ancestral home Sylhet. There, Dr, Sen suggests that, Caitanya shall have collected the money due to him, settled matters with his coparceners and sold some property.[20]

Now a question may be asked: why no biographer other than Cūḍāmaṇī mentions Caitanya's visit to Sylhet? Actually Dr. Sen himself has anticipated the question and his startling answers is that 'possibly' the biographers felt that if they extolled Sylhet, Navadvīpa's glory might be diminished.[21] Now, the biographers—all of them—have stated without any equivocation that Sylhet was the place from which Caitanya's parents came, it was the place from which three of the stalwarts of his movement, namely, Advaitācārya, Śrīvas, and Murāri came, and Murāri was Caitanya's first biographer!

This however is not the end of Dr. Sen's quest for Caitanya's ancestral property at Sylhet. Some of the biographers have given a poignant description of the parting scene when Caitanya leaves his old mother, and walks out of the home to take up orders. At this time Caitanya promised emphatically to his mother that he would always bear 'her burden'. Here Dr. Sen remarks that such a declaration is not befitting a *sannyāsin*, hence his relatives shall have collected the revenue from the Sylhet property and arranged for the maintenance of Caitanya's mother and wife.[22]

Thus we get Dr. Sen's three suggestions; namely, (1) Caitanya's father depended on his Sylhet property for his livelihood; (2) Caitanya went to Sylhet to collect money from the said property; (3) after he became a monk his wife and mother maintained themselves from the earnings of this property.

We have shown above that, not only there is no evidence but the arguments on which Dr. Sen's conclusions rest are not sound. But the point that Dr. Sen overlooks is this: even in our days it is next to impossible to collect revenue from a small property from a distance; in Caitanya's days the collection of revenue of a property in Sylhet by a man residing in Navadvīpa must be presumed to have been impossible unless there is strong evidence to support it. As there is no evidence, direct or indirect which can support Dr. Sen's theory or suggestion that Jagannāth Miśra had some property at Sylhet which his son inherited, we must reject the idea as baseless.

Now, for Dr. Sen's judgment that Caitanya's assurance to his mother that he would 'bear her burden' is not befitting a *sannyāsin*. Firstly, Vṛndāvan-dās, who wrote it, can be presumed to have known the *sannyāsins*' mode of conduct a sight better than Dr. Sen, and so did the millions of readers of the *C.Bh.*, who did not find anything objectionable in this assurance. Apparently Dr. Sen has never suffered from the impulse of a strong emotion. However, as he has based several of his judgments on his assumed knowledge of the *sannyāsins*, may we remark that Śaṁkara is said to have performed his mother's *śrāddha* ceremony. The people who have stated this were all Śaṁkara's followers, and it cannot be said that they were unaware of the implications of this statement. Then Rāma-Kṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa brought his mother and wife and maintained them at the Dakṣineśvara temple. Can it be said that, Rāma-Kṛṣṇa did not know the elementary rules of *sannyāsa*. We shall give another example: Saint Jñāneśvara's father after becoming a monk returned home, and began to live with his wife; four children were born to them, one of whom was Jñāneśvara. (c. 1275-1296). One may reject the traditional stories about Śaṁkara and Jñāneśvara as unfounded, since no records can be produced to prove these incidents, but in Caitanya's days people believed in these traditions, and Caitanya was simply following Śaṁkara, though in a slightly different manner.

We need not take any further notice of Dr. Sen's work which abounds in such fallacious arguments and absurd conclusions, carefully prefaced by the ubiquitous 'probably', or 'could it not have been' and similar cheap devices.

This reminds us of a passage from Rabindranath Tagore's article called *Bhāratvarṣer Itihās*, where the Poet remarks that, 'we must get rid of the superstition that the same history uniformly repeats itself in every country. The man who has been brought up on Rothschild's life, may quite naturally demand for the account books and the official diaries of Jesus Christ, if called upon to write a biography of the Saviour; and, unsuccessful in his attempt to collect these essential details about Christ's life, he may contemptuously remark that the biography of a person, who seems to have been a bankrupt, is not worth writing. Similarly, those who search for the papers from the archives of ancient kings of India, feel depressed when they cannot find them, and declare that there cannot possibly be any history of India. Unfortunately, they have been searching for brinjals in a paddy-field, and being unsuccessful in their quest refuse to recognize paddy as a crop at all. That man is wise, who knows that all fields

do not produce the same crop, and limit his ambition to finding the crop which can grow on his selected soil.'[23]

The field we have selected for investigation is Caitanya's life; here everyone has to depend on the medieval biographers, who were his followers. To them Caitanya was not a person but a personified principle, and who can say that they were entirely wrong? In any case we cannot find his account books nor his private papers and travel diaries, so we have to depend on the medieval biographers. But as we have mentioned above, they fall out on details; and Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj in particular have been accused of adding super-natural incidents to boost Caitanya's claim to divinity. We are therefore citing three examples from the biographies of Rāma-Kṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa to show that Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj is not the only offender in this respect.

4

The standard biography of Śrī-Rāma-Kṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa is the *Śrī-Śrī-Rāma-Kṛṣṇa-Līlā-prasaṁga* by Svāmī Sāradānanda while Śrī-*Ma* recorded the Saint's conversation in his *Śrī-Śrī-Rāma-Kṛṣṇa-Kathāmṛta*. The two authors were contemporaries and direct disciples of the Saint.[24]

Śrī-*Ma* writes under the dateline 8 April, 1883: 'Thākur greeted Adhar. Adhar spoke about the bereavement of his friend whose son had died. Ṭhākur sings to himself: *Jīva sāja samare...*'. After the song Rāma-Kṛṣṇa delivered a short speech which Śrī-*Ma* has recorded.[25]

Sāradānanda records a similar incident. One Maṇi-mohan Mallick had lost his son, and come to Dakṣiṇeśvar straight from the cremation ground. Rāma-Kṛṣṇa asked him why he was looking so pale, and in reply Maṇi-mohan said that his son had died that morning. Rāma-Kṛṣṇa remained silent for a while and then began to sing *jīva sāja samare....* After the song was over Rāma-Kṛṣṇa began to console the old man, but in a manner entirely different from that recorded by Śrī-*Ma* and in very personal terms.[26]

Now, the problem is, are Śri-*Ma* and Sāradānanda describing the same event? Śrī-*Ma* does not give the name of the father while Sāradānanda does not give the date. However, it is difficult to believe that Rāma-Kṛṣṇa sung the same song under the same circumstances on two different occasions, and only after the song was over began to console the bereaved father. Our conclusion is that Śri-Ma and Sāradānanda have described parts of the same incident.

In our second example Śri-*Ma* records Rāma-Kṛṣṇa as saying: 'I made a *tulsī* grove at *Pañcavaṭī* to meditate there. I became pos-

sessed with the idea of fencing it with *bākāri* (split bamboo staves). Next thing I saw was several bundles of *bākāri* and some rope left near the *Pañcavaṭī* after the tide. An employee of the temple was dancing with joy as he informed me.'[27]

According to Sāradānanda, Ṭhākur wanted to put up a fence around *Pañcavaṭī* after the saplings had been eaten by cows and goats; and soon after the idea occured in his mind, there was a bore in the Ganges and the following articles were left, namely several wooden poles, *bākāri,* coir, and a knife.[28]

A critic may say that, Sāradānanda was adding details to prove the supernatural power of his Master. But we do not think so. It is quite likely that Śrī-*Ma* had missed some details which were engraved in Sāradānanda's memory.

Again, both Śri-*Ma* and Sāradānanda have given an account of an experience of Totā Pūri, who had initiated Rāma-Kṛṣṇa into the mystique of *advaita.* Once, while at Dakṣiṇesvar, Totā was attacked with acute diarrhoea. One night his pain became so acute that Totā decided to commit suicide by drowning himself in the Ganges. According to Śrī-*Ma's* record Rāma-Kṛṣṇa said: 'The river was very shallow near the landing; (Totā) moved on, but the water did not reach above his knee; he understood and returned.'[29]

This incident, which occupies about three lines in Śrī-*Ma's* records, is brilliantly described by Sāradānanda in as many pages, and he writes that Totā practically reached the other side of the Ganges, when he realized that it was something supernatural (*daivī-māyā*). He then admitted the existence of Brahman's *śakti.*[30]

Here again a sophisticated modern historian may point out that, Sāradānanda was drawing on his imagination to illustrate his brand of ontology. But here again we must part company with the modern scholar and stick to Sāradānanda, otherwise it will be impossible to understand the phenomenon that was Rāma-Kṛṣṇa, a semi-illiterate temple priest whose fame now embraces the civilized world.

Sāradānanda was fully aware of the risk involved in writing the supernatural happenings in Rāma-Kṛṣṇa's life. He writes: 'We have realized from the beginning that in writing the life of this uniquely peculiar Ṭhākur, we shall have to bear the brunt of contempt and abuse. . . . But even if I know (the fate of my biography in the hands of critics) I cannot help writing it. Now that we have started, we are unable to stop or reveal parts of truth. We have to say whatever we know. Otherwise there can be no peace for us. Someone is compelling us to write.'[31] These sentiments have

a strange similarity with Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj's, who before starting on his main theme writes: 'I write whatever Madana-Gopāla wants me to write; I am a puppet, the magician is pulling the strings."[32]

When as a result of spiritual discipline, peculiar traits were observed in Rāma-Kṛṣṇa, he was taken to be suffering from nervous disorder. Then a great *vaiṣṇava* devotee, learned in *vaiṣṇava* lore detected in him the manifestation of a super-conscious principle by comparing him with Caitanya.[33]

Now we shall use his life as a framework of reference for the purpose of this biography.

1. *MC.* p. 70.
2. Transcription of Bengali names of this period presents some difficulty. We are here following the present phonetic convention according to which the inherent *a* in a consonant (except in a conjunct consonant) at the end of a word remains inarticulate even in a *tatsama* word. Thus 'Dāsa' is 'Dās' and 'Kavirāja' is 'Kavirāj', and Vṛndāvana-dāsa is Vṛndāvan-dās. Similarly Rūp for Rūpa and Jīv for Jīva. But we have used the forms Rūpa Gosvāmin and Jīva Gosvāmin; the Bengali equivalents are Rūp-Gosāiñ and Jīv-Gosāiñ, but even in Bengal they are never referred to as *gosāiñ*, but always as Gosvāmī.
3. *MC.* p. 81.
4. 'The extremely incorrect form in which the text is printed even in the third edition, precludes the allegation of fabrication or deliberate tampering with the text.' S. K. De: *Early History of the Vaisnava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, (2nd ed.), p. 36, f.n.
5. 'Victorious is Kṛṣṇa, who is the blue water-lily in the two ears, collyrium in the two eyes, the great rope of saphire on the breast, (indeed) the entire adornment of the young women of Vṛndāvana.'
6. This point has been thoroughly discussed by B. B. Majumdar, *MC.*, pp. 111-13.
7. It was first published in the *Baṁgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1304 and 1305, B.S. It was later edited by N. N. Basu and K. Nath in 1905. *Maṁgala-kāvyas* were a genre of literary works in medieval Bengal, each extolling the greatness of a particular god; for example *Caṇḍī-maṁgala*, *Manasāmaṁgala*, *Śiva-maṁgala* etc. The *Caitanya-bhāgavata*, which is apparently named after the Purāṇa, was also sometimes called the *Caitanya-maṁgala*.
8. The following were the six *gosvāmins* of Vṛndāvana, Sanātan, Rūp, Jīv, Ragunāth Dās, Bhaṭṭa Raghunāth, and Gopāl Bhaṭṭa. Of these six, Gopāl Bhaṭṭa was a South Indian, the rest being Bengali; with the exception of Raghunāth Das, who was a *kāyastha*, the rest were *brāhmaṇas*. For details of the six *gosvāmins* see S. K. De, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-165; and *MC*, pp. 114-170. Kṛṣṇa-dās had met all the *gosvāmins* with the possible exception of Sanātan.
9. S. K. De, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 and 57.
10. Thucydides: *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, (Everyman's ed.), p. 145.
11. Kavi-karṇapūra, *Mahākāvya*, XIII. 40. Kṛṣṇa-dās's famous Bengali rendering of this sentence is '*Prabhu kahe eho bāhya....*' CC. II, viii. Details of the famous conversation with Rāmānanda, in which these words were used is given below.
12. Rasik Mohan Vidyābhūṣaṇa and his friend the novelist Bankim Chandra Chatterji were born in the same year but the former died at the age of 112. We met him when he was 108 years old, but even at that age he retained a prodigious memory and keen intellect. He was famous as a great scholar, but we remember him for his modesty and the radiating sweetness of his personality, a true *vaiṣṇava*.
13. Girijā Śaṁkar Roy Chowdhury came from a rich *vaiṣṇava* family of East Bengal. Early in his youth he came under the influence of Deśabandhu C. R. Das, and served him faithfully in publishing the magazine *Nārāyaṇī*, and if we are not mistaken, he was its editor. After Deśabandhu's death, Girijā Śaṁkar did not take part in active politics, but his fiery patriotism remained as burning as ever.
14. G. S. Roy Chowdhury, *Baṁgla Carit Granthe Śrī-Caitanya*, p. 207.

15. A. C. Sen: *Itihāser Śrī-Caitanya,* p. 44.
16. We are here using the brand of methodology utilized by Dr. Sen.
17. ibid, p. 49.
18. ibid, pp. 59-61.
19. ibid, 34. It may be noted that no modern scholar except Dr. Sen has taken any notice of Cūḍāmaṇi's work of which only one mutilated MSS. is available. On p. 60, while dismissing the statement of biographers that Caitanya's scholarship earned him money in East Bengal, Dr. Sen states: 'It is seen that no one has mentioned the name or the works of a poet like Kālidāsa or a *pandit* like Śaṁkarācārya within 60-70 years of their lives.' This statement implies that Dr. Sen is in possession of the dates of birth and death of Kālidāsa and Śaṁkara. It is no use saying that the Aihole inscription of A.D. 634 mentions Kālidāsa and Śaṁkara is commented upon by Vācaspati Miśra, whose date is also known. Our question would be how does Dr. Sen know that Kālidāsa lived 60-70 years before the Aihole inscription. They might have been contemporaries, or they might have been separated by 500 years.
20. p. 61. This is as literal a translation of Dr. Sen's statement as possible. This 'possibility' become almost a certainty, in the next page, for Dr. Sen has demolished all other avenues of income.
21. ibid, pp. 59-60.
22. ibid, p. 81.
23. *Bhāratvarṣa o Svādeś; Rabīndra Racanāvalī,* Centenary ed., XII, p. 1028.
24. We are here using the 2nd and the 5th volumes of the *Kathāmṛta* which were published in 1311 and 1339 B.S. A.D. 1904 and 1932) respectively. For the date of publication of the *LP*, see below bibliography.
25. *Kathāmṛta,* vol. II. iii, 5, p. 44.
26. *LP,* vol. I, *Guru-bhāv, Pūrva,* I, pp. 22-27.
27. *Kathāmṛta,* vol. II, xi, 2, p. 105, December 8, 1883.
28. *LP,* vol. I, *Guru-bhāv, Pūrva,* I, p. 83. Sāradānanda adds emphasis on the knife.
29. *Kathāmṛta,* vol. V, iii, 2, p. 28, December, 1882.
30. *LP,* I, *Guru-bhāva, Pūrva,* pp. 288-291.
31. *LP,* Vol. II, *Ghrubhāv, Uttar,* p. 65.
32. *CC.* I. viii, 74. Madana-Gopāla is the deity in the principal temple at Vṛndāvana. Kṛṣṇa-das relates that after he was requested by the *vaiṣṇavas* of Vṛndāvana to write Caitanya's biography, he went to the Madana-Gopāla temple to ask for His permission. In reply as it were, the garland fell from the deity's neck, and it was taken as a sign of approval. (Ibid. vv. 68-72).
33. *LP,* vol. I, *Sādhak-bhāv,* p. 176; pp. 205-209; vol. II, *Gurubhāv, Uttar,* pp. 4-10; 21-22.

CHAPTER VIII

ĀDI-LĪLĀ (i)

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

1

On the evening of the full-moon day of Phālguna 1407 of the Śaka era (February 1486) a lunar eclipse was observed at Navadvīpa in West Bengal.[1] Men and women dipped in the Ganges and joyous shouts of 'Hari, Hari' filled the city as if to welcome a baby born, possibly just before the eclipse started, to Śacī the wife of Jagannāth Miśra. He was named Viśvambhar (lit. he who sustains the world); ladies who came to wait upon his mother proposed that he should be called Nimāi, and as his complexion was unusually fair, he was also called Gaurāṁga (lit. fair-bodied).[2] On his twenty-fourth year when he became a monk, he took the name of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya. Till we reach that stage of his life we shall refer to him as Nimāi or Viśvambhar.

2

Upendra Miśra of the village Dhākā-Dakṣiṇ (Sylhet) had seven sons, of whom the fifth, Jagannāth, had settled at Navadīpa.[3] Jagannāth's father-in-law, Nīlāmbar Cakravartī also came from Sylhet; his daughter, Jagannāth's wife Śacī was also born at Sylhet and probably married Jagannāth there. She gave birth to eight daughters but none of them survived; at last a son was born to her, and they named him Viśvarūp. When Viśvarūp was about eight or ten years old, Nimāi was born. He was the last child born to Jagannāth and Śacī.

About Jagannāth Miśra, we know little, except that he had obtained the title of *Purandara,* but the significance of this title is not known. He was the class-mate of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma's father, but it is apparent that he did not start a school himself. How he managed his affairs is unknown; but whatever his source of income, he was not a rich man. The equivocal description *su-daridra,* seems to indicate that he belonged to what we call today, lower middle class. But in those days, financial position did not determine a person's social status.[4]

Today, few remember the name of Jagannāth, but Śacī is still famous in Bengal; the *vaiṣṇavas* fondly refer to her as the *āi,* 'mother'.

She was a quiet lady, very short, and we have a description of her constantly running after her youngest child and shouting, 'Nimāi, Nimāi'.

3

About thirteen months before Nimāi's birth Jagannāth had felt a divine light enter his heart and then passing on to Śacī's. Śacī also saw many gods worshipping her.[5]

Soon after the child was born, his parents were one day surprised to see small foot-prints in the room which showed clear marks of a banner, thunder, conch, discus and fish. Who left these foot-prints in the room? The husband and wife discussed but could not unravel the mystery. Then as Śacī began to feed the child she noticed the marks on the boy's feet and called Jagannāth. They then called Śacī's father Nīlāmbar Cakravartī, a famous astrologer. Nīlāmbar told them what he had already calculated from his grandson's horoscope, and now he identified the thirty-two physical signs of a great man in his grandson's body.

A peculiar trait of the child was that, his cries could only be stopped if someone recited the name of Hari.[6] Thus practically from his birth, Nimāi began to dwell on the name which he later declared to be inseparable from the possessor of the name.

In due course the extremely beautiful child began to crawl about the house to the great delight of his parents. One day, however, he caught hold of a snake; as everybody gave up hope for him, he released it and it moved away.

None could control the restless boy. He would rush outside and ask for whatever he saw, parched rice, bananas or sweetmeats. Charmed by his fascinating looks, even strangers gave him what he asked for. Dawn and noontide and dusk, the little Master went out to neighbouring houses. At one place he would drink their milk, at another eat their rice, and the unlucky place where he found nothing, he would break the empty pots. If perchance he was caught he would beg to be let off 'this time', promising never to do it again. They marvelled at the child's cleverness; none was angry; all loved him more than their own sons. Śacī tried to reform him, but her reproach almost maddened him and he broke all the household utensils. Sometimes he was possessed with an ungovernable rage. One day he hit his mother, either very hard or as Murāri (I. vi, 22) says struck her with a brick-bat (*vadane tasyā iṣṭakaṁ prāhinot ruṣā*) and Śacī fainted; Nimāi was contrite and never ill-treated his mother again.[7]

One day as he was meandering along, two thieves, attracted by his ornaments, kidnapped him. The thieves tried to beguile him by sweet word, and he climbed on the shoulder of one, quite happily, as they gave him a sweet. Then the thieves made for their home. But something happened; they lost their way, and after moving about for some time found themselves before Jagannāth Miśra's house, and as they set him down, Nimāi ran off to the eager arms of his father, whom his son's unusually long absence from home had thoroughly shaken by this time. During the ecstasies of Nimāi's reunion with his parents, the thieves escaped. The neighbours when they heard the story from Nimāi, blessed him, saying: 'Providence guards the infant, the aged and the infirm.'

But Nimāi was a turbulent child. Śacī took him with her when she went to the Ganges for her bath; the result was Nimāi would play with the discarded pots left with the garbage. So Śacī left him in the house, and on return found him playing with a dog, which in those days no orthodox Hindu would even touch. So Śacī became wise, and tied him when she went out.[8]

Possibly the parents had little control over Nimāi, and it is equally likely that they spoilt him a little, the fate of many children born to an ageing couple. His mysterious signs of future greatness shall have also awed them, and miracles continued to happen. One day, for example, Jagannāth asked Nimāi to fetch a book from inside the house. As Nimāi went inside Jagannāth and Śacī heard the jingling sounds of an anklet. It could not be rationally explained, for no one in the house wore an anklet.

Jagannāth had the due rites performed for his son, like the *karṇa-bheda* and the *cūḍā-karaṇa* ceremonies. Then at the age of five, Nimāi's *vidyārambha* ceremony was performed.[9] He copied the letters of the alphabet with ease and in two or three days mastered the writing of even the compound letters. Then began Nimāi's new game of writing the names of the various *avatāras*, like Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Murāri, Mukunda and Vanamālī.

But Nimāi was still capricious; his strange demands included flying birds, and even the stars and the moon, and when his desires remained unfulfilled, he went into a tantrum. The only method of calming him was to recite the name of Hari. But one day even this remedy failed, and in reply to anxious inquiry, Nimāi said that he wanted to eat the offerings to Viṣṇu made by the two *brāhmaṇas*, namely, Jagadīś and Hiraṇya, who were fasting on account of *ekādaśī* day. To them went their friend Jagannāth, possibly a little abashed, but Jagadīś and Hiraṇya were extremely happy

when they learnt of the boy's demand. They were also surprised that Nimāi should have known that they were fasting, and had prepared a sumptuous offering for the Lord. So they decided that the Lord must be indwelling in this boy. With great joy they sent him the *naivedya* offerings.

The school added new attractions to Nimāi's life, and as Vṛndāvan-dās delicately expresses it, he immersed himself in *cāñcalya-rasa*, that is indulged in all sorts of pranks. He collected a group of unruly boys, and forayed over the city. It was Nimāi's habit to mock other boys, that is, those not in his group; this led to quarrels and ended in fights, in which Nimāi's party always emerged victorious, but not before the reckless Nimāi had collected a good bit of dust or mud from the ground, where he would have been rolling with his opponent in one of his ungovernable rages. Next movement was therefore to the Ganges, where a dip would remove the telltale signs. It seems also, that, Nimāi selected his time for brawls rather judiciously, that is when returning in the late morning from the school, so that he could finish his affairs, have his bath, and return home in time for the mid-day meal with no suspicion aroused.

Nimāi's bath in the Ganges soon turned into a terror for peaceful people. Not only he threw water at all and sundry but spat water at them, which obliged the receivers to bathe again. There were variations in his games: Nimāi found someone calmly meditating, so he poured a little water on his head, and as the fellow scrambled, Nimāi calmly said, 'Whom are you meditating upon? See I am the manifest Nārāyaṇa of this age.' Then he ran away with someone's *Śiva-liṁga* (made of clay) or with someone's *uttarīya* (outer garment). There were even more tempting baits: *brāhmaṇas* took articles for Viṣṇu worship like, flower, *durvā*-grass, sandal-wood paste and food offerings to the Ganges; first they bathed and then they worshipped. Now they found that, while they bathed, Nimāi had ran away with everything. This, however, was not the end; Nimāi dived into the water and dragged the legs of innocent people performing the *sandhyā* ceremony half-immersed in the Ganges; sometimes he caught an inoffensive boy and put a little water in his ears, just to make him howl. But the worst prank seems to have been his habit of climbing on a man's shoulder to use it as a diving board. However, the explosion came when he substituted the clothes of the male bathers with those of the females. A male deputation waited on Jagannāth, and a girls' on Śacī. The latter's complaint did not include the items mentioned above, but they were bitter at Nimāi and his gang for throwing sand at them after

they had finished their bath, and when they protested the cheerful reply was that they would marry the girls. The proposal, of course could not be taken seriously, because the boys were about six to eight years in age. They also scattered or ate the edibles the girls brought with them to perform sundry *vratas;* water had also been spat on them and occasionally a small fruit pushed into their braids. The girls threatened Śacī that unless she did something to curb the activities of her son, they would be compelled to report to their guardians, and inevitably trouble would follow.

Śacī tried to pacify the girls as best as she could, and promised to tie up Nimāi should he again indulge in such frolics. But Jagannāth took a sterner attitude. Next day, he went to catch Nimāi; but as he approached, the girls, who after all had great affection for this beautiful boy, warned him of his impending danger. Nimāi immediately took to his heels, after prompting his friends, that they should all aver, when Jagannāth asked them, that Nimāi had not come to bathe at all. So in a rage Jagannāth began to search for his son, but now the other side began to plead for Nimāi lest the angry Jagannāth thrashed him too severely. So it was agreed that should Nimāi repeat his offence, the elders would stop him and bring him to Jagannāth, and in the meantime he should be excused, for his running away showed that he had taken the warning to heart.

In the meantime, Nimāi spattered a few drops of ink on his body, and with his books in his hands returned home and asked his mother to give him oil, so that he might have his bath after applying it on his body, as is the general custom in Bengal. Śacī was very happy, and like all fond mothers, began to doubt the complaints against her boy. In the meantime Jagannāth returned; his temper had cooled down by this time, and as Nimāi climbed on his lap, he merely said, 'Son, how is it that you disturb people when they are bathing, and sometimes even run away with the offerings meant for Viṣṇu? Are you not afraid of offending god?' Nimāi said that, he was not responsible for what other boys did; for example to-day he had not gone to the river, yet a complaint seems to have been lodged against him. If he were again falsely accused, he would really do something quite nasty. Thus all were mollified and with a free heart Nimāi again went gaily to the Ganges. But after this his pranks subsided.

3

Then something happened which sobered Nimāi. His eldest brother Viśvarūp became a *sannyāsin.* Viśvarūp's date of birth is

not known, possibly he was about eight or ten years older than Nimāi. He was a model of a son: handsome, quiet, studious and religious-minded. Often of a morning he took his bath in the Ganges and then repair to the house of Advaitācārya, whose heart and soul his younger brother dominated later. But Nimāi was still a child, and at Śacī's bidding went to Advait's house to fetch his brother for lunch.

When his parents were arranging his marriage, Viśvarūp suddenly took orders and left Navadvīpa.[10] To his fond parents it was nothing less than a calamity. They had lost eight children; now they practically lost their eldest son, on whom they naturally relied to look after them in their old age. Jagannāth died a few years later, so he was spared Śacī's fate, who had to suffer a worse separation from her youngest child, and what was even worse, survived him, after he died at far away Puri. She and her daughter-in-law, Viṣṇu-priyā, were born to suffer, as they say, for the good of humanity.

One result of Viśvarūp's departure was a change in Nimāi's outlook. He assured his parents that he would perform steadfastly the true duties of a son. The virtual loss of his brother was a great blow to him also. Overnight he calmed down, became extremely studious, and confined himself to the home as much as possible to comfort his weeping parents. The result was somewhat unexpected. By close attention to his studies, Nimāi naturally began to fare much better than his fellow students, and people congratulated Jagannāth for his young son's success. This, however, frightened him, for Viśvarūp too was a meritorious scholar. Jagannāth, who was getting old, now became obsessed with the idea that if Nimāi were allowed to become a scholar he also might leave him one day. So Jagannāth stopped his studies; he preferred to have an ignorant son rather than lose him. Śacī protested: 'How would Nimāi earn his livelihood', she asked Jagannāth, and added, 'who would give his daughter in marriage to an unlettered man.' But Jagannāth was adamant; 'Learning does not necessarily bring wealth, or I would not have remained poor,' he replied, and advised his wife to put her trust in divine dispensation.

So Nimāi was removed from the school. He did not protest verbally but inwardly he rebelled. He had developed a taste for studies, and probably enjoyed the pleasure of securing the top place among his class-mates. He again joined the gang of unruly boys and began his pranks, and damaged things in his own house as well as in others. Then he began to stay out till late in the

evening, and sometimes did not return home at all, but spent the whole night with picking fruits from the neighbours' gardens, after taking the precaution of bolting their doors from outside. Still his father did not relent.

One day at last when Jagannāth was away on business, Nimāi went and sat on a heap of discarded pots.[11] Black soot printed streaks on his fair body, but Nimāi sat there as if on a throne and began to laugh at his friends. Soon some of them went and informed Śacī, who hastened there and implored him to get down. She tried to cajole him and pointed out that, even the touch of a discarded pot entails a purificatory bath, and that Nimāi was old enough to realize it. Nimāi blandly replied that, he was an uneducated boy, so it was not possible for him to understand these things. Then in a more prophetic mood, he told his mother that nothing could make him impure, wherever he stayed became pure; the pots in which Viṣṇu's offerings had been cooked could never become impure.

But Śacī hardly understood or indeed listened to her son; she was afraid lest her husband should come to learn of their son's latest caprice. So she implored Nimāi to have a bath and then come for his meal. Nimāi agreed on condition that he was allowed to rejoin the school. Śacī became angry and began to scold him, but Nimāi sat adamantly on the pots. Then the ladies of the locality rallied in Nimāi's support, and not only justified his demand but pointed out how lucky Śacī was that her son should beg to be allowed to go to the school while their children usually preferred to stay away from it. They too begged Nimāi to come down, and assured him their approval in whatever he did, if he were not allowed to join school forthwith. As this appeal also failed, Śacī ultimately exasperated, and probably humiliated before her neighbours, physically dragged him home, and forced him to take a bath.

But when Jagannāth returned, Śacī related the incidents of the morning, and said that this was the inevitable reaction of withdrawing him from the school. The neighbours also reproached Jagannāth for neglecting the education of a promising boy. 'You cannot alter Kṛṣṇa's will; then why keep him ignorant, perform his *upanayana* ceremony, and readmit him to the school;' Jagannāth's friends and neighbours advised. Ultimately he agreed and the boisterous Nimāi was very happy.

1. The day of the week and the *tithi* is not given in any biography. According to Sri Radha Govinda Nath, it was a Saturday and the *nakṣatra* was Pūrvaphālgunī. According to Phani Bhusan Datta (*MC.* p. 4), it was 18 February, 1486, according to the Julian Calendar, and 27 February, 1486, according to

the Gregorian calendar; according to P. V. Raman: *Notable Horoscopes* (1956), p. 77, it was 18 February, 1486.

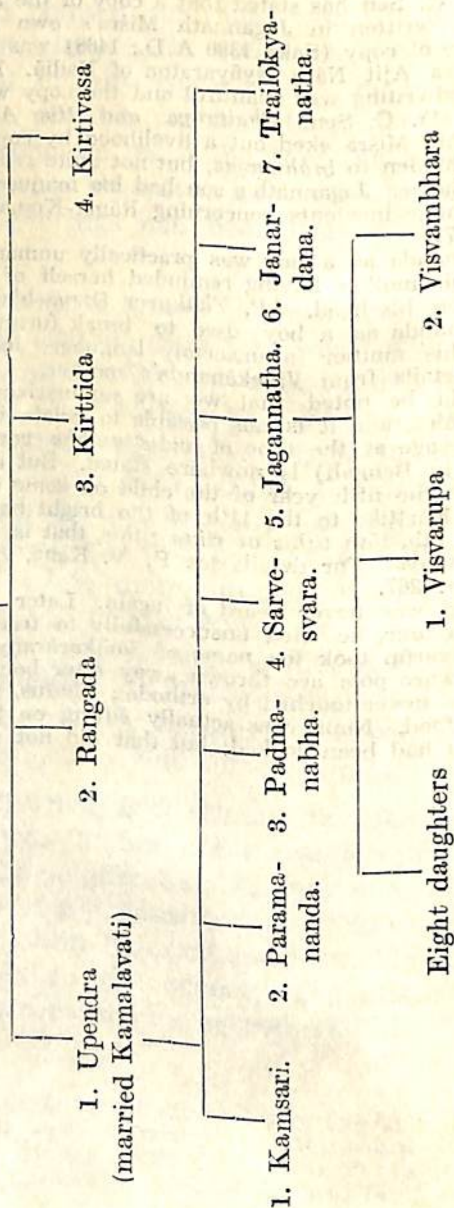
2. Several accounts are available for the origin of the name Nimāi which have been given above p. 98. It is quite usual for a Besgali child, male or female to have more than one name, particularly if one of his names is highly Sanskritized, which again is very usual. The Sanskrit name is known as *bhāla-nām* (good name) and the nickname as *ḍāk-nām* (name by which one is called). Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* usually refer to Caitanya as Mahāprabhu (lit. great lord) and sometimes as Gaurāṁga-candra or Gaurāṁga-sundara, or sometimes as Navadvīpa-candra, rarely as Śrī-Caitanya-deva but never as Caitanya.
3. For the probable genealogy of Caitanya's ancestors, see appendix to this chapter.
4. Dr. D. C. Sen has stated that a copy of the Ādiparvan of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* written in Jagannāth Miśra's own hand bearing his signature and the date of copy (Saka 1390 A.D., 1468) was in the possession of Mahāmahopādhyāya Ajit Nāth Nyāyaratna of Nadiā. Dr. Sen has further stated that the handwriting was beautiful and the copy was particularly free from scribal error. (D. C. Sen: *Chaitanya and His Age,* p. 103). Is it possible that Jagannāth Miśra eked out a livelihood by copying MSS? This profession was not forbidden to *brāhmaṇas*, but not quite respectable, and at least not worthy of a scholar. Jagannāth's son had his manuscripts copied by one Vijaya-dās.
5. For similar incidents concerning Rāma-Kṛṣṇa's birth, see *LP.*, I, *Pūrvakathā*, pp. 57-71.
6. Vivekānanda as a boy was practically unmanageable; he only became quiet when his mother having reminded herself of Viśvanātha (Śiva) poured some water on his head. *LP. Thākurer Divya-bhāv o Narendranāth,* pp. 86-87.
7. Vivekānanda as a boy used to break furniture when angry, and once rebuked his mother in unseemly language. ibid, pp. 86, 94; Sāradānanda got these details from Vivekānanda's mother.
8. It should be noted that we are summarizing these incidents from various biographies, and it is not possible to relate them in chronological order.
9. Nimāi's age at the time of *vidyārambha* ceremony (or *hāte-khaḍi* as it is known in Bengali) is nowhere stated. But it was usual to hold this ceremony in the fifth year of the child on some day from the 12th of the bright half of Kārttika to the 11th of the bright half of Āṣāḍha, but excluding the 1st, 6th, 8th, 15th *tithis* or *rikta tithis,* that is, 4th, 9th and 14th and Saturdays and Sundays. For details see P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra,* vol. II, part i, p. 267.
10. Viśvarūp was never heard of again. Later when Caitanya went on his southern tour, he tried unsuccessfully to trace his brother. The tradition is that Viśvarūp took the name of Saṁkarāraṇya, and died near Poona.
11. Earthenware pots are thrown away after being used for cooking only once; these are never touched by orthodox Hindus, for they are not cleansed of the cooked food. Nimāi was actually sitting on the pots in which food-offerings to Viṣṇu had been cooked; but that did not make any difference.

CHAPTER VIII

Appendix A

GENEALOGY

We are giving below the genealogical table of Caitanya's ancestors from Dr. D. C. Sen's *Chaitanya And His Companions* pp. 218-19. Dr. Sen did not give the source of his information, and these tables are not given in any known biography or other literary source. Therefore, the authenticity of these tables is doubtful; still we reproduce them here, for these tables may guide future workers in this problem. Viṣṇupriyā's genealogical table seems to be fairly correct.



CHAITANYA'S PEDIGREE (MOTHER'S SIDE)

Nilambara Chakravarti

(A Vaidik Brahman who came from Sylhet and settled at Belpukuria in Nadiya)

1. Jogesvara
2. Ratnagarbha Bhattacharya
3. Sachi Devi, mother of Chaitanya
4. Sarvajaya Devi, married to Chandra Sekhara Acharya of Sylhet.
    - Lokantha (who took Sannyas with Visvarupa, and was known as Sankararanya Puri.)

PEDIGREE OF VISNUPRIYA DEVI (WIFE OF CHAITANYA)

Durga Dasa Misra

(A Vaidik Brahman of Nadiya, married Vijaya Devi)

1. Sanatana, married Mahamaya
    - Only child Visnupriya
2. Kalidasa, married Bidhumukhi
    - Madhava Acharya (He was a pupil of Chaitanya, and shortly after his Sannyasa translated the 10th Skanda of the Bhagavata into Bengali verse.

CHAPTER IX

ĀDI-LĪLĀ ii

The Student

Jagannāth performed Nimāi's *upanayana* ceremony and first sent him to Viṣṇu Paṇḍit and Sudarśana for finishing his elementary education, and later admitted him to the seminary of the grammarian Gaṁgā-dās Paṇḍit. Nimāi was now eight or nine years old, and this was his first encounter with Sanskrit, but soon he established his reputation among his fellow students as an extremely precocious and clever boy. It was at Gaṁgā-dās Paṇḍit's seminary that Nimāi had as his class-mate Murāri Gupta, later his follower, and his earliest biographer.

Nimāi's reputation was mainly based on his capacity for inventing grammatical riddles called *phakkikā*. But this alone did not exhaust his energy. After the classes were over, the boys used to go to the Ganges for their midday bath. There students from different seminaries used to meet, and arguments were bandied about the respective merits of teachers, leading to vilification and abuse; and ultimately it ended in brawls. As Vṛndāvan-dās says, 'the Master was still *"parama-cañcala"*, very restless.'

He was very fond of swimming, and soon became an expert swimmer, crossing the river more than once at a time. This interest in swimming he retained even when he had become a famous *sannyāsin* at Puri. It was also at Puri that he once demonstrated his skill at stick-play, which he probably acquired now. He was a high spirited boy.

One day Jagannāth Miśra had a peculiar dream. He practically saw the future of his son: a monk worshipped by a vast concourse. He woke up with a start and began to pray to Kṛṣṇa that Nimāi might stay at home as a householder. To an anxious Śacī, he described his dream, and she reassured him. 'Nimāi,' she said, 'is only interested in his studies. Dream after all is a dream. Of course Nimāi will never leave his home and become a monk.'

When Nimāi was about eleven, Jagannāth fell ill, and died. His death was such a tragedy for his wife and son, that Vṛndāvan-dās felt unable to describe it in detail. As he says, Śacī now lived

only for her son. Nimāi tried to comfort his mother as best as he could, and almost repeated what he had told his parents when Viśvarūp had left home: his mother need not have any misgiving so long as he was there; he would give her such precious things as were only enjoyed by gods.

Śacī had to suppress her grief and look after her son. But the trouble was that, though Nimāi was very solicitous for his mother, his capricious temper was not yet subdued. Actually, he could never control his temper till he became a monk and totally changed himself. Now, after his father's death, they had become poor, but with a youth's lack of consideration, he persisted in demanding the small luxuries to which he had been accustomed, and created a scene when Śacī failed to satisfy him. One day he demanded a garland and sandal-paste, to worship the Ganges after his bath. Śacī asked him to wait for a little while, so that some one could go out and buy one. The idea of waiting maddened him; he broke all the pitchers and the pots and pans containing oil, *ghī*, and salt and the spices. As a matter of fact, he broke practically everything he could lay his hands upon. Then in an uncontrollable rage he began to hit with a stick whatever he could find. Terror-stricken, Śacī hid herself; when there was nothing on which he could vent his anger, Nimāi began to roll on the ground. This quietened him.

In the meantime, Śacī had sent someone to bring the garland, and when it was brought to Nimāi as he lay in the dust, Śacī cleaned him and avowed that she did not at all mind what had happened, and gave him the garland. Nimāi was ashamed of himself and went for his bath. When he returned he was again in a happy mood, and had his meals. Then Śacī gave him the *pān* (betel leaf) and as he began to chew it with evident relish told him: 'Son, this house and everything in it is yours. Whatever you destroy is your loss, not mine. Now you will go out for your studies, but there is nothing left in the house. What will you eat tomorrow?' Nimāi laughed and said: 'Kṛṣṇa is the sustainer; He will feed us,' and went out with his books. When he returned in the evening, he gave his mother two *tolās* of gold and said: 'Mother, Kṛṣṇa has given this. This will meet all your expenses.' Śacī was amazed; she could not decide whether her son had borrowed it or got it through some supernatural powers. However, she instructed her servant to have the gold valued at several places before selling it.

This was Śacī's last experience of her son's caprice. He was no longer a boy, and now determined to excel at studies. Books were his constant companion. In the seminary he was the best scholar and the favourite of the teacher. Possibly as a result of his success, he became rather proud and supercilious, and treated the less brilliant students with unconcealed contempt. For example, his future follower and biographer Murāri, who was his class-mate was a *vaidya* by caste. So Nimāi one day told him: 'Murāri, why do you read grammar. You better follow your trade, and collect herbs and roots. Grammar is a difficult subject and it will not help you to cure cough or indigestion.' Murāri naturally was extremely annoyed and challenged Nimāi to discuss with him any grammatical point. Nimāi accepted the challenge, but from Vṛndāvan-dās's account it seems that honours were shared evenly.

We do not have the details of the debates nor of the discussions which Nimāi held with his fellow students, as no one cared to maintain records of what in those days were probably quite common in Navadvīpa. However, we reproduce here a few notable dialogues which seems to have come down from this period. These may not have any historical value, but illustrate contemporary manners.

It is said that one day the famous logician Pakṣadhara Miśra was sitting in the poet Vidyāpati's hospice. As Vidyāpati came to supervise the comfort of his guests, he saw a very thin man sitting near a pillar, and said in jest:

prāghuṇo ghuṇavat koṇe sūkṣmatvān=n=opalabhyase[1]

Prompt came the reply from the unruffled logician:

na hi sthūla-dhiyaḥ puṁso sūkṣme dṛṣṭiḥ prajāyate[2]

To the same Pakṣadhara, it is said, Raghunātha Śiromaṇi came as a student. As Raghunātha was disfigured due to the loss of one eye, Pakṣadhara said, not in very good taste:

Ākhaṇḍalaḥ sahasr-ākṣaḥ Virūpākṣas trilocanaḥ
anye dvi-locanāḥ sarve ko bhavān eka-locanaḥ[3]

Immediately Raghunātha retorted:

yo'andhaṁ karoty=akṣimantaṁ yaś ca bālaṁ prabodhayet
taṁ ev=ādhyāpakaṁ manye tad anye nāma-dhāriṇaḥ[4]

These stories have no historical basis, but they illustrate the mordant wit which was then in vogue. And as for boasting, the

following verse invariably attributed to Raghunātha Śiromaṇi will give an idea:

kāvyeṣu komala-dhiyo vayam eva nānye
tarkeṣu karkaśa-dhiyo vayam eva nānye
tantreṣu yantrita-dhiyo vayam eva nānye
Kṛṣṇeṣu saṁyata-dhiyo vayam eva nānye[5]

It is quite possible that for all these verses we are indebted to the students of Navadvīpa, brilliant, witty, and cock-sure, that is, qualities almost inseparable from a highbrow *brāhmaṇa* intellectual. Nimāi belonged to this class.

At the age of sixteen, Nimāi completed his studies and was invited by one Mukunda-Sañjaya to teach his son. In return Mukunda put at Nimāi's disposal his big *Caṇḍī-maṇḍap,* where within a short time, large number of students gathered to learn grammar from the handsome young teacher.

Modern scholars have expressed doubts about Nimāi's scholarship as well as the number of the students said to have enrolled in his class, but the medieval biographers are unanimous on these two points, namely, that Nimāi was an accomplished scholar and large number of students flocked to his school.

Now, as to the first point it may be pointed out that, in Navadvīpa of those days hardly anybody would send his son to a scholar who was not recognized as such. For example, there was one Gadādhar Bhaṭṭācārya (A.D. 1650) who was the student of Harirām Tarkavāgīśa, the greatest professor of *nyāya* of his time. Gadādhar was Harirām's most favourite student, but before the former could obtain a degree the teacher died, and Gadādhar could not obtain any title of distinction. Still, Gadādhar opened his *ṭol,* but for a few years no student came to him, and he delivered lectures before the trees and the creepers. However, *paṇḍits* came there to pluck flowers, and were impressed by Gadādhar's discourses. They spread his fame and thus Gadādhar secured students.[6]

We may presume that conditions did not differ materially in the beginning of the 16th century when Nimāi Paṇḍit opened his ṭol in Mukunda-Sañjaya's *Caṇḍī-maṇḍap.* He had presumably obtained a degree in grammar,[7] which being the preliminary subject for all Sanskrit studies would naturally attract larger number of students than such advanced studies as *vedānta* or *nyāya.* There is also some dubious evidence that Nimāi taught *smṛti,* which would

obviously attract more students than philosophy. There is therefore, hardly any reason to dismiss as fabrication his biographers' claim that he had a large number of students.

But did Nimāi himself study philosophy or was he a mere grammarian? Modern scholars are inclined to believe that he knew little more than the *Kalāpa*-grammar, which he taught, but the biographers, particularly Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj, have given examples of Nimāi's ability to discuss rhetorical and philosophical problems. Where did he learn these subjects? The answer may be that after finishing his course at Gaṁgā-dās Paṇḍit's seminary, Nimāi had to open his own to support himself and his mother, and as we shall see presently, he was probably thinking of marriage about this time. But he may have continued his studies privately, for which there is some evidence: both Vṛndāvan-dās (*C.Bh.* II, xxv) and Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj (CC. I. x) mention one Vijaya-dās who copied manuscripts for Nimāi. This shows two things: firstly, Nimāi had the true bent of a scholar and was following up his studies, secondly, he had the money to pay the copyist.[8]

We must also take into consideration Nimāi's overpowering personality. By the time he was barely twenty-five years old, a mighty king like Pratāparudra and his ministers—not to speak of others—were doing him obeisance. As we shall see, as a *sannyāsin*, he rarely appeared in public, and never addressed them. Yet he was their idol. This is nothing less than a phenomenon, and can only be explained on the basis of his tremendous power of attraction. This capacity could not suddenly evolve overnight out of nothing; therefore, the reasonable conclusion seems to be that, the students were impressed with Nimāi Paṇḍit's brilliance and were attached to him, even while he was in his early youth.

1. 'O guest (*prāghuno*)! You are sitting like a *ghuṇa* near the pillar; and you are very thin (*sūkṣma*), so you could not be seen.' *Ghuṇa* means an insect like a white ant, but here the connotation is with *ghuṇākṣara-nyāya*, which owes its origin to the unexpected and chance resemblance of an incision in wood or in a book due to the insect in the form of a letter and is used to denote any fortuitous or random occurrence.
2. 'A thick-headed man cannot perceive subtle objects.'
3. 'Ākhaṇḍala (Indra) has thousand eyes, Virūpākṣa (Śiva) has three, all the rest have two, who are you Sir, with only one eye.'
4. 'He who is capable of giving an eye (power of vision) to the eyeless, and gives knowledge to the ignorant is, alone to be considered a real teacher, while the rest are merely so-called teachers.'
5. 'No one appreciates literature as much as we do; in logic we (have) the sharpest understanding; our understanding of *tantra* (is always) associated with *yantra* (tantric diagram) as no one else's; our mind is more constantly in rapport with Kṛṣṇa than any one else's.'

However, Ragunnātha seems to have been a monist. The following verse is prefixed to all his works:

oṁ namaḥ sarva-bhūtāni viṣṭabhya paritiṣṭhate

akhand-ānanda-bodhāya purṇāya paramātmane.
'I bow to that Supreme Being, who is immanent in every object and is in the nature of continuous bliss.' This verse has been variously interpreted, and sometimes it has been quoted to prove that Raghunātha was a follower of Viśiṣṭādvaita; but most probably he was a monist. Anyway, Caitanya apparently had no influence on his great contemporary. Does the last line of the verse (f.n. 4) alludes to the contemporary *vaiṣṇavas*?

6. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj: *Gleanings from the History and Bibliography of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Literature*, Calcutta, 1961, p. 71.
7. Such a degree would be equivalent to a *vyākāraṇa-tīrtha* of these days, which its holders never mention, being too easy, or basic, though they are entitled to do so. The titles a modern Bengali Paṇḍit uses are *Sāṁkhya-Vedānta-tīrtha*, etc.
8. Nimāi should be compared with Vivekānanda who was a mere graduate but dominated all the scholars who came in contact with him, and so did Rabīndranāth who was not even a matriculate. Vivekānanda had a phenomenal memory, and his recorded statement is that, even as a young student he could grasp the meaning of an entire page by reading the first and the last line. LP, II, *Ṭhākurer Divya-bhāv o Narendranāth*, p. 78.

CHAPTER X

ĀDI-LĪLĀ iii

Nimāi Paṇḍit

We have seen that, as a child Nimāi used to disturb the girls engaged in performing rituals on the bank of the Ganges. Soon, however, he changed completely his outlook towards women; he not only avoided them, but even before he matured as a boy, he would not so much as glance at a woman if he could avoid it. This self-imposed vow he retained for the rest of his life. There was, however, one exception; he had once met a girl called Lakṣmī, when he was a child. He happened to see her again about the time he opened his *ṭol,* and they fell in love. By a strange chance the day that Nimāi met Lakṣmī for the second time, one Vanamālī Ācārya came to see Śacī. Possibly he had nothing else to talk about, so he suddenly asked Śacī, why she was not thinking about her son's marriage; there was, Vanamālī said, a beautiful girl called Lakṣmī, daughter of Vallabh Ācārya (not to be confused with the great *vaiṣṇava* teacher) who would be a perfectly suitable match for Nimāi. Śacī had been thinking of Nimāi's marriage for some time, but she frankly told Vanamālī, that, her fatherless son had still to make good in the world before she could think of his marriage.

Vanamālī was not very happy to hear Śacī's decision, but he took his leave without further argument. On his way he met Nimāi, who hailed him. Vanamālī then told Nimāi: 'I proposed a suitable marriage for you, but for some unaccountable reason your mother did not pay any heed to me.' Possibly Vanamālī also gave the details of the proposal. Nimāi kept quiet, but on returning home the first thing he asked his mother was, why did she not receive the Ācārya, that is, Vanamālī, properly. This was enough for Śacī, and she took the hint.

Next day Vanamālī came again and this time Śacī requested him to arrange the match as early as possible. Vanamālī went straight to Vallabh's house and formally proposed the marriage. Vallabh was very happy, but frankly confessed that he was very poor, so all he could give his daughter would be five myrobalans,

the proverbial dowry of a poor girl. With this Vanamālī returned to Śacī, and she agreed gladly. Soon Nimāi was married to Lakṣmī.

After his marriage, Nimāi devoted himself even more wholeheartedly than before to his profession, and gave himself up entirely to teaching. We now have his description: an extremely handsome young man, dressed in the height of fashion, lips red from chewing betels, followed by a contingent of students wherever he went. This indeed was his peculiar trait: as a child he was the leader of the children of the locality; as a student he was the leader of his school; now he was leading his own students, possibly slightly proud and of course sarcastic about his colleagues, as most young teachers usually are.

One of Nimāi's favourite remarks on becoming a teacher was that, those who did not know the rules of conjunction (first lesson in Sanskrit grammar) became professors in the iron-age (*Kali-yuga*). The pious local *vaiṣṇavas* also became the target of his barbed wit, and they kept away from him as far as possible. One day as he was lordly prowling with his students, he happened to see a devout *vaiṣṇava* named Mukunda (his future follower) who ran away to avoid him. Disdainfully Nimāi asked: 'Why did the fellow run away'.[1] Govinda, to whom the question was addressed replied meekly that possibly Mukunda was suddenly reminded of something he had forgotten. Nimāi was not satisfied with this answer. He said: 'I know why he ran away. He does not want to speak to a worldly man as I am. This fellow reads only the *vaiṣṇava* scriptures, while I explain the various commentaries. I never talk about Kṛṣṇa, hence he runs away from me.' After abusing Mukunda, Nimāi added: 'All right; they will avoid me for some time, but not for long. I shall become such a *vaiṣṇava*, that the whole world will flock at my door.' This was as good a prophecy as any, but none paid any heed to it, for Nimāi was laughing while he joked about his future.

Nimāi's future preceptor Īśvar Purī came to Navadvīpa. He was warmly welcomed by the small group of devoted *vaiṣṇavas* of Navadvīpa, but Nimāi was not one of them. However, one day they met, and Īśvar Purī was struck by Nimāi's appearance. He had already heard of Nimāi Paṇḍit, and was glad to meet him.[2] Nimāi respected the convention of his age and society and one day invited Īśvar Purī to his house. So Īśvar Purī came and had his meals at Nimāi's house, after which he discoursed at length on

Kṛṣṇa. This did not have any tangible effect on Nimāi, but since then he went and saw Īśvar Purī every day.

Īśvar Purī had written a book called the *Kṛṣṇa-līlāmṛta.* He wanted to know Nimāi's opinion about it. Nimāi politely assured him that when a devotee describes Kṛṣṇa, it is sinful to criticize it; in whatever manner a devotee addresses Kṛṣṇa, He is certainly pleased. For example.

mūrkho vadati Viṣṇāya dhīro vadati Viṣṇave
ubhayos tu samaṁ puṇyaṁ bhāva-grāhī Janārdanaḥ.[3]

The reply, though not quite complimentary to him, seems to have gratified Īśvar Purī, but one day as he was reading his work to Nimāi, the latter pointed out a mistake and said that this verb should not be used in *ātmanepada* form. This led to a learned dispute, but Īśvar Purī was a learned man, and though Nimāi at first proved his point, the monk gathered his wits about him after Nimāi had left, and at their meeting next day proved that the verb could be used in *ātmanepada* form. Thus they spent some days together, but Īśvar Purī did not stay in a place for long, and after some time he left Navadvīpa.

One day Nimāi caught hold of Mukunda, and demanded to know why Mukunda ran away to avoid him. 'Today', said Nimāi, 'I shall not let you go unless you satisfy me'. Mukunda thought that 'this man is only proficient in grammar, so if a topic on poetics is selected, I shall easily corner him.' So he said aloud: 'Grammar is a subject for children (*śiśu-śāstra*). Let us discuss poetics (*alaṁkāra*).' Nimāi readily agreed, and, in the discussion that followed, Mukunda was thoroughly discomfited, and had to swallow Nimāi's valedictory advice, namely, to go home and read the books once more and this time with greater attention. Mukunda bowed and wondered; how could a man be so learned.[4]

While still a teacher, Nimāi once fell into a trance. When it set in he uttered unintelligible words, rolled on the ground, broke things, shouted very loudly, jumped, and threatened to beat people, then became absolutely stiff and fell into a trance. Friends decided that it was due to the derangement of *vāyu* (wind). His patron Mukunda-Sañjaya and favourite student, Buddhimanta Khān, came to see him and brought expensive oils. Many other remedies were applied, but Nimāi used to shout suddenly: 'My name is Viśvambhar, because I uphold the world, I am He, but who recognizes Me.' And having said this he used to rush at people near him. Some concluded that an evil spirit had taken possession of Nimāi, others gave as their opinion that, Nimāi used to talk

too much, hence this derangement. However, after some time he recovered.

A pleasant trait of Nimāi Paṇḍit's character was the easy familiarity with which he mixed with the *non-brāhmaṇas,* men of professional castes, such as weavers, milkmen, and *baniās.* He would go to a milkman's house, joke with them, and drink milk and eat curd and cream. Then he would go to a scent-vendor (*gandha-vaṇik*) and demand scent, and they would gladly supply him such excellent scents which would stand washing, and as for price the *baniā* would give unlimited credit. So did the garland-maker, the *pān*-seller, and the *śaṁkha-vanik* (conch-shell vendor). But Nimāi's favourite was Śrīdhar, a very poor vegetable seller but a very good *vaiṣṇava,* a man who eked out a meagre living by selling banana leaves, odds and a few vegetables. Nimāi used to taunt him, expressing surprise that he, a worshipper of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, should be in such dire want. Śrīdhar gave long replies pointing out that the *vaiṣṇavas* did not want wealth but devotion to the Lord. Nimāi replied that certainly Śrīdhar had some hidden treasure and was posing poverty to deceive everybody, and unless Śrīdhar gave him a share, he would expose him. Śrīdhar felt that further arguments with this *brāhmaṇa* was useless, and, for a poor man like him, improper too; moreover, as things were developing the pleasantries might end in blows in which he would be at the receiving end. So he gave Nimāi, whatever was demanded, free. But still Nimāi did not leave him in peace and asked: 'Śrīdhar, who am I?' Śrīdhar replied: 'As a *brāhmaṇa,* you are a part of Viṣṇu.' Nimāi laughed and replied: 'No Śrīdhar, I am a milkman, father of the Ganges you worship.' Śrīdhar exclaimed: 'Śrī-Viṣṇu! Śrī-Viṣṇu! O Paṇḍit! have you no regard even for the Ganges? Men become sober as they advance in age, but you are becoming more flippant.'

Śrīdhar was right; Nimāi was still flippant as well as arrogant. One day as he was strolling about accompanied with six or seven of his students, well dressed chewing betel-leaf, with books in his hand, he met Śrīvas, his future follower. Śrīvas was older than he, so Nimāi paid him respect and Śrīvas told him after blessing him: 'Where are you going, you *uddhata-cūḍamaṇi* (crest jewel of arrogance).' Possibly this was half in jest, but then Śrīvas added: 'Why do you spend all your time in reading and teaching? You should worship Kṛṣṇa.' With mock humility Nimāi replied: 'Yes Paṇḍitji; by your grace certainly I shall one day begin to worship Kṛṣṇa,' and merrily went on his way to the Ganges.

It seems that at this time, the landing *ghāṭs* on the Ganges served the purpose of modern clubs. Nimāi used to sit there in the afternoon with his students and challenge anyone who dared to dispute with him on any subject. His challenge went unanswered, but these intemperate and immodest personal glorifications added daily to the number of his students. Then a *dig-vijayī* (world conqueror) *paṇḍit* came to Navadvīpa, and Nimāi's students reported that, the Paṇḍit had received blessings from the Goddess Sarasvatī, and was invincible. Nimāi replied that pride has its fall, and God would certainly punish this proud man. This, from Nimāi, was strange, but one day the Paṇḍit came and met him in the evening as he was sitting as usual with his students on the Ganges *ghāṭ*. Nimāi politely praised the Paṇḍit and requested him to recite a poem in praise of the Ganges. Immediately the Paṇḍit recited several hundred verses on the Ganges and everybody wondered at his super-human power; but not so Nimāi. He selected one stanza from the long recitation and picked up various faults in it. The Paṇḍit was shattered. He could neither reply nor compose any other poem. So Nimāi asked him to return next day. But at night Sarasvatī appeared in a dream and told him that the man who had vanquished him this afternoon was none other than the Lord of the universe. 'Go away, and do not tell this to any one,' commanded the goddess. The next morning the Paṇḍit went to Nimāi, made his obeisance and related to him the dream. Nimāi told him to return home and worship Kṛṣṇa.[5]

Nimāi took his duties as a householder seriously. He sent clothes and food to those engaged in rituals; to the poor he gave alms, money, rice and clothes; and his door was always open to monks. There were days when Nimāi suddenly brought ten or even twenty monks to his house, when the larder was empty. Nimāi would then go out and somehow or other bring the food, which Lakṣmī cooked. Nimāi's declared motto was that, a house-holder must entertain guests; one who did not do so was worse than an animal.

Possibly this open-handedness required that he should earn some extra money; so with his mother's permission Nimāi went to East Bengal (now East Pakistan) accompanied as usual with a large number of his pupils. He stayed there for two months and impressed them by his learning. Nimāi's exposition was so good that, within this short period many became proficient (in Sanskrit), and at the end Nimāi distributed hundreds of degrees.[6]

The tour was financially successful, but a mishap marred the happy return. While Nimāi was away, Lakṣmī had died of snake-

bite. On his return Śacī and others welcomed him with a heavy heart, but felt it prudent not to disclose the sad news till Nimāi had finished his meals. While eating, he tried to amuse them by imitating the bad pronunciation of the East Bengalis, but still they kept quiet. After the relations had left and Nimāi was chewing betel-leaf, Śacī kept herself away; so Nimāi went to her and asked her why she looked so sad. Then Śacī began to weep. Nimāi's suspicions were aroused, for he had missed Lakṣmī. So he asked, 'Has some evil fortune befallen your daughter-in-law?' Then Śacī had to break the news. Nimāi kept quiet for a long time; then he too wept. But he had to think of his old mother; so he pulled himself up and consoled her by repeating the trite observations common on such occasions.

Like young bereaved husbands before him and after him, Nimāi soon regained his composure and was his former self. He conducted his class with added dignity and rebuked a student who had come without putting the *tilak* mark on his forehead. The students had to perform the obligatory *sandhyā* rite and then come to the class. Still his impish nature sometimes took hold of him and he made the people of Sylhet his target. 'The Master,' Vṛndā-van-dās writes, 'provoked particularly the men from Sylhet by imitating their pronunciation. In anger, the Śrī-haṭṭiyās shouted back: "Look! where are you from? Who among your family including your father and mother were not born in Sylhet (*Śrī-haṭṭa*)? How is it that, you being a Sylhet man, make fun of us?" Still the Master did not desist until the Śri-haṭṭiyās fumed with rage and some went to the *shiqdār* to lodge a complaint. Ultimately common friends intervened.'[7]

At this time Nimāi's daily routine was to conduct his class from very early in the morning till the second watch of the day. During this time a servant applied soothing oil (*viṣṇu-taila*) to his hair. Then he went for his bath in the Ganges. After this he seems to have taken his meal and have some rest; then possibly he went out for his evening stroll with his students and gathered at the *ghāṭ* on the Ganges. But after returning home, he read till half the night was over.

Śacī was on the look out for a suitable girl for her son. A beautiful girl soon attracted her; she was Viṣṇupriyā the only daughter of Rāja-paṇḍita Sanātan, a wealthy man of a distinguished family. Śacī confided her wish to Kāśī-nāth Paṇḍit, who soon arranged the match. Nimāi's student, Buddhimanta Khān, volunteered to pay all the expenses of the marriage; Mukunda-Sañjaya wanted to

bear at least part of the expense, but Buddhimanta was adamant; he resolved that Nimāi should marry in princely splendour, and he alone should bear the expenses.

The marriage took place with due eclat. Navadvīpa had seen few marriage ceremonies which could compare with this in splendour. There was joy in every heart. Śacī's happiness could not be described. She welcomed her son and daughter-in-law in the traditional manner, and as the handsome couple sat side by side they looked as splendid as Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa.

And thus Nimāi Paṇḍit went on with his affairs. Then by the end of 1508, he went to Gaya to offer oblations to the departed soul of his father. When he returned, he was still Nimāi, but no longer the proud *Paṇḍit*. We shall henceforth refer to him as Viśvambhar.

1. If Vṛndāvan-dās has recorded correctly (*C. Bh.*, I, viii), Nimāi referred to Mukunda as *beṭā* which we have translated as fellow. Actually there is no English equivalent of *beṭā*, which literally means 'son', but as an epithet has various shades of meaning. Here it expresses contempt.
2. Possibly Nimāi had gained some notoriety as a *vaiṣṇava* baiter and some reputation as a successful teacher at an early age. The biographers do not state Nimāi's age as they relate these incidents, but it seems that Īśvar Purī came to Navadvīpa few years after Nimāi had opened his *tol*.
3. 'An ignorant man (in making his obeisance to Viṣṇu) says Viṣṇāya ('to Viṣṇu' a wrong case ending) an educated man says Viṣṇave (correct case ending) but both of them get the same merit, because Janārdana accepts the sentiment.'
4. See Appendix A to this chapter.
5. See Appendix B to this chapter.
6. See Appendix C to this chapter.
7. The habit of mocking at the East Bengalis for their mis-pronunciation still persists in West Bengal. The pronunciation of Navadvīpa is supposed to be the standard, while that of Sylhet extremely uncouth. We have sometimes wondered whether Jagannāth Miśra's failure in Navadvīpa was not really due to his inability to get rid of his native peculiarities of pronunciation.

CHAPTER X

Appendix A

NIMĀI'S SCHOLARSHIP

Modern scholars usually reject this episode and those that follow. It seems to us, however, that they are making the same mistake that Mukunda made, namely, that Nimāi knew only grammar, because his teacher was a grammarian, and he himself taught grammar. They overlook the possibility that Nimāi could at this time be studying seriously at home, unknown to any one. It is apparent from his biographies that he had no friends at this time, and did not share his secrets with any one. Secondly, Indian system of logic, uses three terms in connection with disputes; namely, *vāda, jalpa* and *vitaṇḍī*. *Vāda* is an academic discussion to find out truth, while *jalpa* is a dispute in which the main object is to overthrow the opponent rightly or wrongly, and *vitaṇḍā* is a dispute to ferret out the faults of the opponent without any attempt to offer any alternative thesis. It is quite likely that Nimāi had an inborn aptitude for *jalpa* and *vitaṇḍā*, a quality shared by all successful lawyers.

Appendix B

THE DIGVIJAYĪ PAṆḌIT

The defeat of the Digvijayī is one of the few incidents in Caitanya's early life of which a more detailed account is found in the *CC* than in the *CBh*. The actual verse which Caitanya criticized is given in the *CC* I. xvi:

mahattvaṁ Gaṁgāyāḥ satatam idam ābhāti nitarām
yad eṣā Śrī-Viṣṇoś-caraṇa-kamal-otpatti-subhagā
dvitīya Śrī-Lakṣmīr=iva sura-narair arcya-caraṇā
Bhavānī-bhartur yā śirasi vibhāty=adbhutaguṇā.

'The greatness of that Ganges is constantly shining; She, who is extremely fortunate being produced from the lotus-like feet of Viṣṇu, She who is being worshipped by gods and men like the second Lakṣmī, and She who by dint of being placed on the head of the husband of Bhavānī (Śiva) has become possessed of wonderful qualities.'

This verse flagrantly contradicts several rules of Sanskrit poetics, one of them being the use of the clumsy compound *Bhavānī-bhartā* which literally means 'husband of the wife of Bhava' (Śiva). This particular example is found in Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* (VII) (*MC*. p. 210) and therefore some modern scholars have doubted its authenticity and some have rejected the whole episode. But even good scholars sometimes make a bad slip parti-

cularly when they are in a hurry, and the Paṇḍit was in a hurry, as he was composing the verse on the spot. We have seen at least two Paṇḍits gifted with this peculiar power, but none of them were scholars. Nimāi's strength was in picking out flaws. Possibly this was the only verse which contained mistakes and he committed it to memory. It is quite likely that Nimāi had read the *Kāvyaprakāśa* but not the Paṇḍit, and as has been said:

Kāvyaprakāśasya kṛtā gṛhe gṛhe ṭīkā
tathāpy=eṣa tath=aiva durgamaḥ

('Commentaries on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* have been done in every home, yet it remains as difficult (to understand) as ever.').

It may be noted in this connection that Bhavabhūti is said to have used the expression *Kālapriyānātha* which has been translated by MM. Dr. P. V. Kane as 'Kālapriyā would mean Pārvatī, Kālapriyānātha would thus be Śiva,' and in the text MM. Kane has accepted the reading Kālapriyānātha, though the variant Kālapriyanātha ('lord of Ujjayinī') was available in several MSS. *(Uttararāmacarita,* Ed. by P.V. Kane, Text p. 4, Notes, p. 3). Though Bhavabhūti flourished much earlier than Mammaṭa, the commentaries on which MM. Kane has relied are much later. Apparently, therefore, Mammaṭa's rules were not as widely known or followed in practice as is usually believed.[1]

Appendix C

EAST BENGAL TOUR

Nimāi seems to have conducted a short course of Sanskrit studies in East-Bengal. Vṛndāvan-dās (*CBh.* I.X) says that people in East Bengal requested him to teach them his *ṭippanī* (small gloss). Was it a small grammar like Īsvar Candra Vidyāsāgar's *Upakramaṇikā*, which can be mastered in about two months? Even so how could the fame of a small grammar have spread from Navadvīpa to East Bengal? The answer may be that large number of students used to come from East Bengal to Navadvīpa in those days and they may have carried Nimāi's fame and his grammar to their homes. The reason we consider Vṛndāvan-dās's account as genuine is his statement that Nimāi distributed 'hundreds of degrees'.

kata śata śata jan padabī labhiyā
ghare jāya, ār kata āise śuniyā

A 'degree' has a fatal attraction for most people even now, and we do not think that human sentiment has changed much. In East Bengal, a degree conferred by a Navadvīpa *paṇḍita* would be specially attractive whatever its worth.

1. For similar and more miraculous incidents in Rama-Kṛṣṇa's life see *LP, Gurubhāv Uttar*, pp. 35-6, 102-03.

CHAPTER XI

ĀDI-LĪLĀ iv

Viśvambhar in Love

Viśvambhar left for Gaya some time at the end of 1508. It so happened that Īśvar Purī, whom he had met at Navadvīpa was also at Gaya when he arrived there.[1] This chance meeting afforded great pleasure to both of them, and Viśvambhar took Īśvar Purī's permission before performing the prescribed rites.

After offering oblations to his father, Viśvambhar was cooking his meal, when Īśvar Purī came to his place. Viśvambhar gladly invited him to have his meals with him and the latter agreed. After a few days, Viśvambhar met Īśvar Purī privately and begged for initiation (*mantra-dīksā*), and Īsvar Purī imparted to him the ten syllable Gopāla-*mantra*. Then Viśvambhar circumambulated his *guru* and said: 'I surrender my body to you; bless me so that I may be drowned in the ocean of Krṣṇa's love.'

How long Īśvar Purī stayed with his disciple is not stated, from which it seems that he left after a few days. But Viśvambhar lingered on at Gaya. One day as he was engaged in meditation and repeating the *mantra,* he suddenly fell into an ecstatic state and began to lament loudly for Kṛṣṇa. As Vṛndāvan-dās writes: 'The Master who was extremely grave (*parama-gambhīra*) now became extremely restless (*parama-asthira*) under the impact of love (*preman*)'. Viśvambhar told his companions to return home, and himself started for Mathura to meet Kṛṣṇa. After he had proceeded a little, he heard a divine voice asking him to return home. 'The time for going to Mathura is not yet,' the voice said and added: 'You are the Lord of Vaikunṭha descended to redeem man. You will dispense *preman* (love), and *bhakti* (devotion) all over the world. We are your slaves, You are the Master, Lord of all. Your will cannot be gainsaid; but please go home now, and come to Mathura later.'

So Viśvambhar returned to Gaya and joined his companions who were his students. With them he returned to Navadvīpa[2] (by the middle of January 1509). His anxious relatives and friends were glad to find him very meek (*parama sunamra*) and they blessed him. The families of Śacī and Viṣṇupriyā were particularly happy.

When most visitors had left, a few *vaiṣṇavas*, who had come to see Viśvambhar, remained. He took them aside and confided in them his experience in Gaya. At last he broke down and began to lament with the name of Kṛṣṇa on his lips. Śrīmān Paṇḍit and a few others, who were there, were wonder-struck. The flow of spiritual love from Viśvambhar was so overpowering, that they had but little doubt that he had received special grace from Kṛṣṇa. After some time Viśvambhar returned to his normal state and told them: 'Friends, please go home now. You and Sadāśiv meet me tomorrow in the house of Śuklāmbar Brahmacārī.'

Next morning, when *vaiṣṇavas* like Gadādhar, Gopīnāth, Rāmāi and Śrīvās were picking flowers, Śrīmān Paṇḍit came there laughing. When asked the cause for this merriment, Śrīmān said: 'I am going to tell you something most unbelievable. Nimāi Paṇḍit has turned a *vaiṣṇava*.'[3] Then he recounted the change in Nimāi and Śrīvās exclaimed: 'May our group increase (*gotraṁ no vardhatām*)'.

Śrīmān Paṇḍit then went to Śuklāmbar Brahmacārī's house, where they were joined by Sadāśiv, and Viśvambhar's old antagonist, Murāri. Then Viśvambhar came. He hardly noticed anything; addressing his friends he said: 'I obtained Him and then He left me.' So saying he fell into an ecstasy and began to cry, 'Oh! Kṛṣṇa where art Thou! *Hā* Kṛṣṇa!' The *vaiṣṇavas* were emotionally overwhelmed. After a little while, Viśvambhar became almost normal, and asked Śuklāmbar as to who were inside the house. When he heard that Gadādhar was there he called him and said: 'Gadādhar, you are lucky. From childhood you have been attached to Kṛṣṇa, and I have wasted my life.' With this Viśvambhar began to roll on the ground; at times he regained his senses and lost it again and again, and fell on the ground so heavily that his friends surmised that only a divine power was saving him from grave physical injury. Then he got up and piteously begged his friends to fetch him the son of Nanda the milkman, that is, Kṛṣṇa.

When Viśvambhar left Śuklāmbar's house, his friends hastened to spread the glad tidings to the small group of *vaiṣṇavas*, who became exceedingly happy to learn of Viśvambhar's conversion to their faith. So long, they had been an isolated group often the butt end of ridicule from the non-*vaiṣṇavas*, who were mostly worshippers of minor gods and goddesses. Formal worship of Viṣṇu was common, but *bhakti* or devotion was lacking; even the *Bh. P.* was explained from the point of view of a monist. So the *vaiṣṇavas* under the veteran Advaitācārya had been patiently waiting for the saviour. Sometimes Advait shouted furiously for the heaven to answer his

prayers, and it is the firm belief of the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas*, that Caitanya was born in response to Advait's prayer. Therefore, in the hierarchy of Caitanya's companions, Advait's place is only next to that of Nityānanda, Caitanya's chief companion, who was to appear on the scene very soon.

Viśvambhar spent the whole day in Śuklāmbar's place and returned to his house as if in a dazed state. Recovering a little, he went to his former teacher Gaṁgā-das Paṇḍit, who warmly welcomed him, and advised him to start his classes from the next day. However, Viśvambhar went to his *ṭol* and just met the students and returned home.

Here Śacī was beside herself. Her son's condition had completely unnerved her. She made the usual offering to Ganges and Viṣṇu, and prayed to Kṛṣṇa: 'You have taken my husband and all my children save one. Oh Kṛṣṇa! grant this one boon to this unlucky woman, that Viśvambhar may recover quickly.' In desperate search for remedies, the old woman made her daughter-in-law sit near Viśvambhar; but he did not even look at her. He was either reciting verses, or weeping or crying: 'Oh Kṛṣṇa! where are you ' Sometimes he shouted in such a furious passion, that Viṣṇupriyā ran away in fear, and even Śacī got frightened. Nimāi lost his sleep and spent the nights in meditating on Kṛṣṇa. Murāri (II. i. 25-26) has described his condition as:

kvacic=chrutvā Harer nāma gītaṁ vā vihvalaḥ kṣitau
patati śrutimātreṇa daṇḍavat kampate kvacit
kvacit gāyati Govinda Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇ=eti sādaram
sannakaṇṭhaḥ kvacit kampa-romāñcita-tanur-bhṛśam.[4]

In the morning he controlled himself and after his usual bath went to conduct his class. But there he could only talk of Kṛṣṇa; he lectured at length on the greatness of Kṛṣṇa and the excellence of devotion to Him. After he had delivered a long lecture in this vein he suddenly became aware of what he was saying, and then, completely put out of countenance, asked his students: 'What have I been telling you?' The students said that they had not understood anything, but Kṛṣṇa had figured prominently in his lecture. Viśvambhar smiled and proposed that they should go for their bath in the Ganges.

Possibly Śacī was apprehensive, for when he returned she asked him: 'Son, what subject did you teach today?' Nimāi said: 'Today I read only Kṛṣṇa-*nāma*.' And then he explained to his mother the fundamental tenets of his doctrine.

From then on it was nothing but Kṛṣṇa. In his class, he could talk of nothing else; even when his bewildered pupils begged him to explain a grammatical point properly, he would advise them to meditate on Kṛṣṇa. So they went to Gaṁgā-dās and told him what was happening in Nimāi Paṇḍit's class. Gaṁgā-dās was perturbed; he told the students that he would talk to Viśvambhar about it, and see to it that he gave up his strange manners. He called Viśvambhar and told him: 'Viśvambhar, remember, your maternal grand-father was Nīlāmbar Cakravartī and your father was Jagannāth Miśra. No fool was ever born in your family. You are also a good scholar. Do you think that *bhakti* developes only if one gives up teaching? Were your maternal grand-father and father not *bhaktas* (devotees)? So go back to your class, and for my sake conduct it properly.'

The old teacher's admonition had some effect. Viśvambhar pulled himself up and took up teaching seriously. For about four months he was again his old self, the supercilious *paṇḍit*. Then as he was conducting his class one day, he suddenly heard the following verse recited by a neighbour called Ratnagarbha Ācārya.[5]

śyāmaṁ hiraṇya-paridhiṁ vanamālya-barha-
dhātu-pravāla-naṭaveṣam anuvratāṁse
vinyasta-hastam itareṇa dhunānam abjam
karṇotpal-ālaka-kapola-mukhābja-hāsam[6]

Immediately he fell into a trance. As he came out of the trance, he rolled on the ground and requested Ratnagarbha to go on reading.[7] Tears from his eyes moistened the earth and he shivered and exhibited horripilation (*pulaka*) as Ratnagarbha gladly went on reading from the *Bh. P.* Ultimately Gadādhar stopped Ratnagarbha, and then Viśvambhar collected himself. 'What frivolities have I committed,' he asked. They gave evasive replies, and he went with them to the Ganges for his bath.

However, he still conducted the class. One day he began to explain the verbal roots, but suddenly began to talk of Kṛṣṇa. After some time he came to his senses and asked the students to tell him frankly what he had been teaching. They told him everything, including what had happened the day he heard the verse from the *Bh.P.* 'For the last ten days', the students added, 'you have not given us any lesson.' 'Why didn't you tell me that I have not been giving any lessons for ten days?', he asked. They gave him a polite answer; but he made up his mind and said: 'I constantly see a young dark boy (Kṛṣṇa) playing on a flute. Constantly I hear the name of Kṛṣṇa. The world appears to me as

the abode of Govinda. From today there will be no more class for me; please go and join other teachers.' With tears in his eyes, Viśvambhar tied up his books and closed his class forever. But before he left his students, he taught them *saṁkīrtana* by repeating the verse:

> *Haraye namaḥ Kṛṣṇa-Yādavāya namaḥ*
> *Gopāla Govinda Rāma Śri-Madhusūdana*

1. Vṛndāvan-dās says it was a chance meeting (*daiva-yoge*, lit. by divine intervention) Gaya seems to have been a Mādhva centre as the notorious Gayawals are all Mādhvas. (P. V. Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. IV, p. 644.) Īsvar Purī is taken to be a Mādhva ascetic, and if so, it would have been natural for him to visit a Mādhva centre, but Nimāi's arrival there at the same time was pure chance.
2. Here ends the *Ādi-khaṇḍa* of the *CBh*, but we are following the *CC*.
3. *parama adbhut kathā mahā asambhav*
   Nimāi Paṇḍit hailā parama vaiṣṇav, CBh. II. i.
4. 'On hearing the name of Hari or songs about Him, he falls on the ground sometimes in a perturbed state, sometimes like a log of wood. Sometimes with great devotion he sings of Kṛṣṇa or Govinda. Sometimes his voice is choked, and his body shivers and horripilates again and again.'
5. Ratnagarbha Ācārya was Jagannāth Miśra's friend and both were born in the same village. Ratnagarbha was a famous *bhāgavata*.
6. This is a description of young Kṛṣṇa (*Bh. P.* X, xxiii 22) as the wives of the *brāhmaṇas* saw him: '(He is of) a dark blue complexion, clad in garments (shining like) molten gold, decked like an actor with garlands of wild flower, peackock's tail, precious metals and leaves. He has placed one hand on the shoulder of one of his followers, and with another hand he is turning a lotus; his ears are decorated with lotuses and brows beautified with curled locks of hair; and his lotus-like face is beaming with charming smiles.'
7. It seems that Ratnagarbha came to Nimāi's *ṭol*, probably attracted by the commotion made by the students when they saw their teacher apparently in a senseless condition.

CHAPTER XII

ĀDI-LĪLĀ V

Saṁkīrtana[1]

The joyous news of Viśvambhar's total change in outlook and behaviour was borne to the venerable Advaitācārya by the *vaiṣṇavas* of Navadvīpa.[2] Advait told them that the previous night Kṛṣṇa had appeared in a dream and told him: 'Your travails are over; your wishes are fulfilled; the Lord will now spread Kṛṣṇa-*kīrtana* everywhere.' 'Then I saw Viśvambhar' Advaita said, 'but I cannot understand the mystery. When young, Viśvambhar used to come to my house to fetch his brother home, I blessed him; and now I am glad that he has developed *bhakti*. But if he is really the Lord, he will come to this *brāhmaṇa's* house.' So the *vaiṣṇavas* returned.

Viśvambhar had now become extremely meek. He bowed to Śrīvās and other *vaiṣṇavas* whenever he met them. They too blessed him so that he might be a true devotee of Kṛṣṇa. This would please Viśvambhar so much that he would fall at their feet. Sometimes he washed their clothes, helped them in performing the rituals, or carried home the ingredients of worship which they had brought. The *vaiṣṇavas* vehemently protested, but he was happy to serve them.

The *vaiṣṇavas* told Viśvambhar of their sad plight in Navadvīpa, where excepting a few, the rest were averse to Kṛṣṇa. He advised them to perform *kīrtana;* thus would Kṛṣṇa himself come to Navadvīpa and transform it into Vaikuṇṭha heaven. However, he became very angry when he heard that the *vaiṣṇavas* were being insulted by others; 'I shall destroy eveyone,' he used to shout, and exclaim, 'I am He! I am He!'

Śacī was frightened, for when Viśvambhar was seized by such emotional fervour, he would jump on a tree, then as suddenly jump down and fall on the ground with closed eyes. He grinded his teeth with a horrible noise, somersaulted, and rolled on the ground. He rushed at *vaiṣṇava*-baiters, and they ran away from him as if from a mad man. That indeed was the common opinion.

Śacī was advised to tie him up securely and then apply suitable medicines. Various remedies were also suggested. Śacī, unable to decide, went from house to house for advise particularly to *vaiṣṇavas* like Śrīvās. So one day Śrīvās came to see Nimāi, and on seeing the great *vaiṣṇava*, Viśvambhar displayed all his symptoms, and fell into a trance.[3] After becoming normal, Viśvambhar asked Śrīvās as to what the latter thought of his condition. Śrīvās assured him and Śacī that, it was no disease, but the outward manifestation of *mahā-bakti-yoga*. Viśvambhar was happy; he told Śrīvās that, if Śrīvās too had diagnosed it as madness, he would have committed suicide. Śacī also was pleased that Nimāi was not suffering from any derangement, but still she was not quite happy.

One day Viśvambhar accompanied with Gadādhar went to see Advait. When they arrived, Advait was loudly chanting the name of 'Hari', and Viśvambhar fell into a trance as soon as he saw Advait. Advait immediately recognized him as his Lord and Master and began to chant from the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*: (I. xix. 65) and the *Mahābhārata* (*Śānti*, XL vii, 94):

namo Brahmaṇyadevāya go-brāhmaṇa-hitāya ca
jagad-hitāya Kṛṣṇāya Govindāya namo namaḥ.[4]

Advait then burst into tears of joy, and made proper obeisance to Viśvambhar, who was much younger than he.[5] At this Gadādhar protested, half in jest, but Advait said: 'Gadādhar, you will know in a few days who this boy is'. In the meantime, Viśvambhar became normal, bowed to Advait, and begged for his blessings. In reply Advait said that all the *vaiṣṇavas* now desired to meet him and perform Kṛṣṇa-*kīrtana* with him. Viśvambhar heartily agreed to do so.

Then began Viśvambhar's famous *saṁkīrtana* at Nadiā. Of his *saṁkīrtana*, his contemporary poet Narahari, who most probably witnessed this phase of his life and took part in it has written:

'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanyas tu kaupīna-dhārī dīna-veṣaḥ
sannyās-āśram-ālaṁkṛto'tyanta-durdāntaṁ balavanta mahā-
vṛṣabha durdūḍhaṁ adhyātma-vādinaṁ viṣay-āndhaṁ
ku-yoginaṁ jaḍaṁ ajasra-madyapaṁ pāpaṁ caṇḍālaṁ
yavanaṁ mūrkhaṁ kula-striyaṁ prema-sindhau pātayāmāsa;
ānandena Vaikuṇṭh-opari sthāpayāmāsa. kevalaṁ prema-
dhāry=aiva sarveṣāṁ āśayaṁ śodhitavān, āsurabhāvaṁ ca
curṇitavān; kim anyad vā bahu vaktavyam. puruṣān
eva prakṛti-bhāvaṁ ninãya. Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya-
bhāva-kalā-vimohitāḥ Śrī-Gadādhara-paṇḍita bhāva-

darśana-samudita gopī-gaṇa-bhāvā vedāntino'pi
viṣayiṇo'pi prakṛti-bhāver ṇrnṛtuḥ, vaiṣṇavānāṁ kā kathā.[6]

The *saṁkīrtana* began in Viśvambhar's house, probably in May, 1509. Śacī was uneasy on his account and requested Gadādhar to be constantly by his side. Nights were spent in ecstatic devotional songs and dancing, in which Śrīvās seems to have figured prominently. For, the angry neighbours blamed him particularly for the disturbances at night. Their remarks were quite rational: 'Does not silent prayer generate merit; and is it essential to shout at night to gain merit?' Then a rumour spread that soldiers were coming to arrest the *vaiṣṇavas*. The *vaiṣṇavas* were worried, but the simple Śrīvās believed it and lived in terror, and by his mystic power Viśvambhar came to know the state of his mind. So he went to Śrīvās's house and peremptorily ordered him to come out. But Śrīvās was engaged in worshipping Nṛsiṁha (Man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu) and could not obey him. He therefore began to kick on the door and shouted at Śrīvās: 'Śrīvās whom are you worshipping? See your deity standing before you.' Śrīvās turned around and saw four-armed Viśvambhar seated in *vīrāsana* pose with conch, discus, club and lotus in four hands. He declared that he was the Lord, born in answer to the prayers of Advait and Śrīvās. He assured Śrīvās and bid him to recite verses in his praise, and Śrīvās read from the *Bh. P.* Then Śrīvās's family with Viśvambhar's permission came and had his vision. Among them was Nārāyaṇī, Śrīvās's four year old niece, future mother of Vṛndāvan-das, who has described these incidents.[7] They worshipped Viśvambhar with the flowers intended for Viṣṇu-*pūjā*. Viśvambhar told Śrīvās not to be afraid of the Sultān or his soldiers; if they really came to Navadvīpa, Viśvambhar promised that, he would be the first to go and face them. He then departed asking Śrīvās, not to divulge the strange happenings to anyone.

But Viśvambhar himself when in a semi-trance used to declare: 'I am He.' One day he went to Murāri's house and appeared to the latter as Varāha-*avatāra*. And thus he went to all his devotees and disclosed his real nature. They now shed all their fears and everywhere they began to sing the praise of Kṛṣṇa.

Then Nityānanda came to Navadvīpa.[8] By a mystic process, he had come to learn of the advent of the Master. In Navadvīpa he stayed as the guest of Nandan Ācārya, where one day Viśvambhar went to meet him. One glance at his face convinced Nityānanda, that he indeed was the Master. Nityānanda was stupefied; then Viśvambhar looked at Śrīvās who read a verse from the *Bh.P*,

and Nityānanda fell into a trance. Viśvambhar asked Śrīvās to continue reciting from the *Bh.P.* and after some time Nityānanda became normal. And thus began the famous association of Caitanya and his principal follower amidst scene of indescribable spiritual splendour.

This meeting took place on the 14th day of the bright half of Aṣāḍha (about the middle of June 1509), the day before the Vyāsa-*pūjā*. At Viśvambhar's request, Nityānanda selected Śrīvās's house as the venue for the ceremony. There they all went and the doors were closed so that no outsider could come in. Here Viśvambhar displayed himself as the incarnation of Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa's elder brother. After everyone had left, Nityānanda, who was an *avadhūta sannyāsin* broke his staff and threw away his water-pot.

Next day they all gathered in Śrīvās's house to perform the Vyāsa-*pūjā*. Nityānanda officiated as the priest, but instead of worshipping Vyāsa, he began to worship Viśvambhar, who appeared to Nityānanda in the six-armed form of Viṣṇu, with conch, discus, club, lotus, plough, and pestle.[9] Nityānanda fell into a trance from which Viśvambhar brought him out, and explained to him their essential relation. Thus the *pūjā* was over, and the *saṁkīrtana* began, and Viśvambhar and Nityānanda began to dance together. Śacī was there, and it appeared to her that both were her sons.[10]

If any definite date can be assigned, it is possibly this day of the Vyāsa-*pūjā* in (June) 1509, that Viśvambhar accepted the leadership of the group, which later came to be called Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* or Caitanya-*sampradāya*.[11] Only Advait had not yet formally joined.

From this day, the scene of the *saṁkīrtana* shifted to Śrīvās's courtyard which has become famous in the history of Caitanya-sect as *Śrīvāser-aṁgan*. One day when Viśvambhar was emotionally surcharged, he ordered Śrīvās's younger brother, Rām, to go and bring Advait. As soon as Advait saw Rām, he understood the latter's mission, and was very happy when he found that he was right. Still he feigned disbelief and said: 'Rām, your brother Śrīvās of course knows the best, but tell me which scripture says that an incarnation will appear in Navadvīpa.' Rām replied: 'Advait, your long prayers have now been answered. He has indeed appeared in Navadvīpa to scatter *bhakti*. Come with me, you and your wife, with all the ingredients necessary to worship him. This is the Master's order. Nityānanda, who is the Master himself in another body, has also arrived. Nityānanda is your soul-mate, it is possible that we shall have the luck to see you all together.'

Advait was overwhelmed with emotion, as was his whole family. Still he said; 'Rām, I shall come with you. But I shall acknowledge him as my Master and the Lord of my heart, if he places his feet on my head.'

Advait proceeded with his wife and all the ingredients of worship, like scent, garland, *dhūpa,* clothes, camphor, milk, curd, cream and betel-leaves. But on his way he warned Rām that he should announce that Advait had refused to come.

Viśvambhar went to Śrīvās's house where the devotees gathered. Suddenly ?he exclaimed: 'Advait is coming'. Then he added: 'Advait wants to see my magnificence'. Immediately Nityānanda held an open parasol over his head (sign of royalty), Gadādhar brought the betel-leaves, and others began to perform various services. In the meantime Rām entered, but before he said anything, Viśvambhar said: 'Advait is in the house of Nandan Ācārya, and has sent you to test me. Go and bring him here.'[12] So Rām went there, and Advait proceeded with his wife chanting religious verses. When he approached Viśvambhar he recited a long verse praising him. Viśvambhar said: 'I was lying in the milky-ocean. Your prayers and loud cries induced me to come down on earth to remove human misery. All the devotees you see here have taken birth due to you.' Advait said: 'Today all my wishes are fulfilled. I feel that the purpose of my birth is fulfilled. Your appearance is not due to my power, but to your kindness. Who but you can redeem humanity?' Viśvambhar then asked Advait to worship him, and as the old man gladly performed the rituals of worship, Viśvambhar placed his feet on his head. Loud exclamations of joy burst out from all present, as Advait's secret desire was fulfilled.

Viśvambhar asked Advait to ask for a boon, but Advait had no desire left. But when Viśvambhar repeatedly demanded that Advait should receive something, the latter said: 'Grant me this that, you will distribute *bhakti* irrespective of sex, caste or education. Let even the untouchable *caṇḍāla* dance with joy with your name on his lips.' Viśvambhar gladly consented.

Gradually his principal followers began to join Viśvambhar. *Saṁkīrtana* was performed every night either in Śrīvās's house or in Candraśekhar's. Another change had now came over Viśvambhar; formerly he addressed a *vaiṣṇava* as 'master' (*prabhu*) and fell at his feet. Now, he would say: 'This is my slave' and place his feet on the *vaiṣṇava's* chest. He used to declare: 'In the Kali-age I am the Nārāyaṇa; I am the son of Devakī, lord of the universe.'

One day he ordered: 'Sing my coronation song (*abhiṣeka-gīta*).' As the devotees began to sing, he nodded his head in approval, so they decided to perform his coronation ceremony. They brought water from the Ganges and all the necessary ingredients. Nityānanda shouted '*Jaya jaya* (victory)', and poured Ganges water over him, while Advait, Śrīvās and others chanted the *Puruṣa-sūkta*. Then Mukunda and others began to sing auspicious songs of felicity, and they exclaimed their heartfelt emotions of joy. Then he sat on the *Viṣṇu-khaṭṭa,* and Nityānanda held the open umbrella over his head, while others fanned him with *chowrie.* The rest performed the ritual of worship in prescribed manner (*ṣoḍaś-opacāra*), and at last they dipped *tulasī* leaves in sandal-wood paste and placed the leaves on his feet, chanting the Gopāla-*mantra* of ten syllables.

When the ceremony was nearly over, Viśvambhar sent for the poor vegetable-seller, Śrīdhar, and when the latter arrived offered him *aṣṭa-siddhi* (eight kinds of yogic powers). Śrīdhar refused and instead of miraculous powers begged to be allowed to remain as the slave at his Master's feet.

Detailed description of this ceremony and the names of persons present are available,[13] and there is no reason to doubt that the incident actually happened. Thus the worship which began on the Vyāsa-*pūjā* day took its final shape now, and Viśvambhar was acclaimed by his select group of followers as the living incarnation of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa. He was now barely twenty-four years old, and many of the men, if not most of them, were much older, and all of them were highly educated and trained scholars. They must have realized what they were doing; but not only then, but for the rest of their lives they did not waver from their faith, and one of the fundamental tenets of the faith they preached was that Viśvambhar was the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. Of the many miracles which Viśvambhar performed in his life, this is the most miraculous, the burning faith which he induced in his followers that he was an incarnation of God.

1. *Saṁkīrtana* or *kīrtana* is an emotional and unritualistic mode of musical worship. Rūpa Gosvāmin defines *krītana* in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (I. ii. 48) as, *nāma-līlāguṇādināṃ uccair bhāṣā tu kīrtanam (kīrtana* is loud chanting of name, *līlā* (lit. sport, here) 'anecdotes' and qualities (of the Lord).
2. Advaitācārya's permanent home was at Śāntipur, about twelve miles south-east of Navadvīpa, where he was now living. He also had a house at Navadvīpa, where Viśvarup and child Nimāi used to visit him.
3. *Samādhi* is usually rendered as trance. But the *vaiṣṇava* authors always use the term *mūrchā*, the English equivalent of which is 'faint'. But here 'trance' is more suitable. There may be some reasons for the *vaiṣṇava* authors' avoiding the use of the word *samādhi*.
4. 'Again and again I bow to Kṛṣṇa, the Govinda, the Brahmaṇyadeva, the saviour of the cow, *brāhmaṇas* and the world.'

5. According to some accounts, Advait was senior to Caitanya by 50 years, while according to another by 42 years. We do not think that the difference of age could be so great, because Advait survived Caitanya. Secondly, Advait's eldest son was only five years old when Caitanya had become a monk. As Advait had several sons, it would mean that he was begetting children till he was above seventy. This may not be impossible, but we prefer to believe that Advait was much younger than he is generally supposed to be. But there is no doubt that he was considerably older than Caitanya.
6. 'Dressed poorly in a loin cloth, Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya ornamented the *sannyās-āśrama* (the stage of *sannyāsins*); he dipped into the ocean of love the extremely uncontrolled, strong, and most mighty atheistic-monists, men blinded by wealth, the bad *yogins*, the dullards, confirmed drunkards, sinners, *caṇḍālas*, *yavanas* (Muslims), fools and housewives, by (showering) bliss (on them), he placed them in Vaikuṇṭha. Only by torrents of love he cleansed the minds of all, and destroyed the evil in their nature. What more shall we say. He induced feminine mode of delicacy and grace in males. Śrī-Gadadharapaṇḍita infatuated (by perceiving) the emotional dancing of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya (enjoyed) mentally the vision (of (Kṛṣṇa); not to speak of the *vaiṣṇavas*, the monists, and (even) the men of affairs, danced, imbued with the feeling of the milkmaids.' Narahari Sarkar Thakur: *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-bhajanāmṛtam*, quoted in *MC.* p. 53.
7. For similar incidents in Rāma-Kṛṣṇa's life see *LP*, I, *Gurubhāva*, *Pūrva*, pp. 192-94; II, *Gurubhāva*, *Uttar*, pp. 269-74.
8. For the biographies of Nityānanda and other devotees see below Chapter XXI.
9. According to the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas*, Nityānanda was Saṁkarṣaṇa, that is Balarāma, incarnate; hence the implements of Balarama, namely, plough and the pestle.
10. To this may be due the curious mistake by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (op. cit. p. 118) that Caitanya and Nityānanda were brothers.
11. A similar incident in Rāma-Kṛṣṇa's life took place practically at the end of his life. *LP. Thākurer Divyabhāv O Narendranāth*, pp. 332-34. Rāma-Kṛṣṇa was worshipped by his devotees on the occasion of Kāli-*pūjā*, but did not manifest any supernatural form. But some time later, when Rāma-Kṛṣṇa's end drew near, Vivekānanda was one day sitting by his side and thinking: 'He has many times declared himself as the incarnation of God; if he can now declare "I am God", then I can believe.' Rāma-Kṛṣṇa was in great physical pain, yet he opened his eyes and said: 'Even now knowledge has not dawned on you. I am telling you the truth, the real truth, that, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are now in this body as Rāma-Kṛṣṇa, but not from the point of view of your vedānta.' (Swami Gambhirananda: *Śrī-Rāma-Kṛṣṇa Bhaktamālikā*, Vol. I, p. 38). As for Caitanya, it should be remembered that he displayed supernatural powers mostly during this period. Within some months he became a *sannyāsin* and then would be annoyed even if someone compared him to the Deity, though on a few occasions he revealed his miraculous power even as a *sannyāsin*.
12. Actually he said 'Nāḍhā is coming' for whenever he was under an emotional stress he addressed Advait as 'Nāḍhā. Modern scholars have offered various explanations for this peculiar meaningless word.
13. During this *abhiṣeka* ceremony, Caitanya is said to have displayed mystic power by eating an enormous quantity of food, and relating little known incidents in the life of his followers. This is the only instance when he displayed the latter power. Rāma-Kṛṣṇa and Vivekānanda showed this power very rarely.

CHAPTER XIII

ĀDI-LĪLĀ vi

Pāṣaṇḍa-dalan

It seems that after the *abhiṣeka* ceremony, Viśvambhar became comparatively normal, or at least had long spells of normal state. For, we find him occasionally sitting with Viṣṇupriyā and accepting *pān* (betel leaves) from her hands. This pleased Śacī, and Vṛndāvan-dās says that, Viśvambhar sat with Viṣṇupriyā to please his mother. Viṣṇupriyā enjoys even now the respect due to the Master's consort, and it is probably she who first started the practise of the worship of Caitanya's image, even during his lifetime. The main Caitanya temple at Navadvīpa is still controlled by the descendants of Viṣṇupriyā's family.

Viśvambhar now decided to preach his doctrine in public, who had always been denied access to his *saṁkīrtana.* For this purpose, he selected Nityānanda and Hari-dās[1] and told them to go to every house and preach there that only Kṛṣṇa is to be worshipped. So they went out and performed their duty very gladly. Many were converted, but there was considerable opposition also. Some people thought that Nityānanda and Hari-dās were mad, while others, who had been refused admission to the *saṁkīrtana,* threatened to assault them. However, Nityānanda and Hari-dās laughed and went on with their mission.

One day Nityānanda proposed and Hari-dās agreed to redeem Jagāi and Mādhāi,[2] for Viśvambhar's order was to redeem the sinners. Even allowing for the exaggerated descriptions of their criminal nature, there is no doubt they were drunkards, and what is called, 'thoroughly bad lot'. They were *brāhmaṇas* by caste, but seems to have broken all the caste-rules. Nityānanda and Hari-dās knew of Jāgāi and Mādhāi's reputation, still one day they approached the two brothers, and began to sing of Kṛṣṇa.[3] But the two drunkards were exasperated by the presence of the monks and their chants and rushed at them. Nityānanda and Hari-dās took to their heels, and as they fled away began to accuse each other humourously, for getting involved in a perilous venture. Thus the fun ended for that day.

One day somewhat late at night, Nityānanda was going to Viśvambhar's house, and his way lay across either the house of Jagāi and Mādhāi or their haunt, that is, a liquor shop. 'Who goes there', shouted the brothers. 'I am going to the house of my Master,' Nityānanda said. 'What is your name?' they demanded. 'My name is *avadhūta* (*sannyāsin*), replied Nityānanda, who had never given up his idea of reforming these two. Mādhāi was goaded by the word *avadhūta* and struck Nityānanda on his head with a heavy object. Nityānanda began to utter the name of Govinda, and Mādhāi was about to hit again when Jagāi stopped him saying: 'You are very cruel. What do you gain by assaulting a monk.'

News of the incident soon reached Viśvambhar, who rushed to the scene with his followers. The sight of Nityānanda's blood almost maddened him. But before he could do anything drastic, Nityānanda prevented him saying: 'When Mādhāi struck at me, Jagāi came to my rescue. I am not in the least unhappy. I beg you for their redemption.'

Viśvambhar was very pleased to hear of Jagāi's succour to Nityānanda, embraced him, and said: 'May you have *prema-bhakti* (love and devotion),' and Jagāi unable to tolerate the onrushing emotion fainted away. Then Viśvambhar said: 'Jagāi, arise and look at me. I am really giving you *prema-bhakti*.' Jagāi got up and instead of Viśvambhar saw the four-armed Viṣṇu, holding conch, discus, club and the lotus in his four hands. He again fell in a swoon; Viśvambhar placed his foot on Jagāi's breast, and he regained his senses. Then he fell at Viśvambhar's feet and began to cry.

By this time there was a complete transformation in Mādhāi. Nityānanda perceived this and interceded with Viśvambhar on Mādhāi's behalf; Mādhāi also began to plead for himself. So Viśvambhar asked Mādhāi to seek Nityānanda's forgiveness. This was immediately granted; Nityānanda blessed Mādhāi saying: 'If I possess any merit, let Mādhāi enjoy its result.'

Viśvambhar said: 'If you have really pardoned Mādhāi, then embrace him.' Nityānanda gladly embraced his assailant.

Jagāi and Mādhāi now fell at Viśvambhar's feet and began to cry piteously. So the *vaiṣṇavas* brought them to Viśvambhar's house, and there Jagāi and Mādhāi surprised all by reciting a long verse in praise of Viśvambhar, Nityānanda and their associates. Everyone agreed that the drunkards must have received special powers from Viśvambhar. Viśvambhar corrected them: Jagāi and

Mādhāi were no longer drunkards, they were his servitors, and he had accepted their sins as his own.

Then there was *saṁkīrtana.* After the *saṁkīrtana* was over, Viśvambhar suggested that they should go to the Ganges for a bath. So all went to the Ganges and once in water Viśvambhar became his old self, throwing water at everybody. Soon all of them joined the game and even the old Advait began to play like a child.

Jagāi and Mādhāi were reformed overnight and became model *vaiṣṇavas*. As Mādhāi was extremely eager to do something to expiate his sins, Viśvambhar told him to construct a bathing *ghāṭ* on the Ganges. Mādhāi, thereafter lived on the banks of the Ganges the strict life of a celibate, and people every day saw the old sinner working joyfully with a spade in his hand, constructing the *ghāṭ* all by himself. When it was completed, it was known as Mādhāi's *ghāṭ*.

This incident had its effect on Navadvīpa. People began to say that Nimāi Paṇḍit was not an ordinary man, since he was able to reform scoundrels like Jagāi and Mādhāi.

The *saṁkīrtana* went on with added fervour, and Viśvambhar showed himself as an incarnation to his devotees several times. But one day a strange depression possessed him.[4] He felt that he did not possess *preman* (love for God). 'What is the use of a body without *preman*' he said and, as impetuous as ever, jumped into the Ganges to commit suicide. Nityānanda and Hari-dās immediately dived in the river and dragged him out. They argued with him, and then he suddenly decided to conceal himself in Nandan Ācārya's house, and forbade Nityānanda and Hari-dās to disclose his hideout. Next morning, Viśvambhar sent Nandan Ācārya to fetch Śrīvās. Śrīvās came and represented that all the *vaiṣṇavas* had been adequately punished by his disappearance, and Advait was fasting (evidently out of remorse). So Viśvambhar went to Advait's house, and found him in a comatose stage. 'Arise, Ācārya, see, I am Viśvambhar', he said, but the old man kept quiet out of shame. So Viśvambhar again requested him to get up and this time Advait fully repented for what he had done or said, and begged for *dāsya-bhāva,* (attitude of a slave towards his master.) Viśvambhar assured him by citing an example which indicated that Advait was indeed his slave. This pleased the old man and he was again his former self.

One day Viśvambhar suggested that instead of the *saṁkīrtana*, they should stage the *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*. Buddhimanta Khān was ordered to secure the dress and other outfits, which he gladly supplied.

Then in the evening the drama was staged either in Candraśekhar's house or in Śrīvās's. Śacī and Viṣṇupriyā were among the select audience, which consisted of the families of the *vaiṣṇavas*.

The *vaiṣṇavas* acted in different roles, but the centre of attraction was Viśvambhar. He first appeared as Rukmiṇī, and having played his part to perfection, changed his dress and appeared as Ādyā-Śakti, and danced under the experienced emotional fervour of *Jagat jananī* (mother of the world). Not only the audience but the actors too were overwhelmed, and they began to recite verses in praise of the Mother, and sucked Viśvambhar's breast.[5] For seven days after the drama an unearthly light shone in Candraśekhar's house.

Advait was still unhappy. Viśvambhar was treating him with marked respect, due to a man of his age. Advait wanted to be treated as a servitor, not as an elderly scholar. So he hit on a stratagem and spread the news that he had turned a monist. The news reached Viśvambhar, and accompanied with Nityānanda, he proceeded to Advait's house at Santipur. By the time he reached Advait's house he was completely aroused, and shouted at the old man: 'Do you say that *jñāna* (knowledge) is superior to *bhakti* (devotion)'. So saying, he dragged Advait from his seat, threw him on the ground, and began to thrash him properly. Advait's wife interceded on her husband's behalf, but deaf to her pleadings, Viśvambhar went on shouting at Advait: 'I was lying in the milky-ocean when your cries woke me, and I came down to preach *bhakti*. If you want to bypass *bhakti* why did you drag me in this world.' And Viśvambhar declared again and again that he indeed was Kṛṣṇa. As Viśvambhar began to display his majestic power, Advait began to dance in joy and said: 'Now you have appeared in your true form. I am not Durvāsas whose remnants of food you once ate. I am not Bhṛgu whose foot-print you displayed on your chest.[6] I am Advait your true slave. You have punished me, now give me shelter under the shadow of your feet'. Advait placed his head at Viśvambhar's feet, but now the latter had recovered himself and took Advait on his lap. And then a great emotional wave overpowered all of them; Viśvambhar, Nityānanda, Advait, his wife and the whole family began to weep. But Viśvambhar felt ashamed and promised Advait: 'Anyone who takes refuge in you will get my benediction even if he commits hundred crimes against me'.[7]

The fame of Viśvambhar's *saṁkīrtana* gradually spread through Navadvīpa, and now people were anxious to participate. But strict privacy was maintained as before, so they began to come to

Viśvambhar with various presents to offer him.[8] To them Viśvambhar said: 'May all of you have Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*. This is the *mahā-mantra:*

Hare Kṛṣṇa Hare Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Hare Hare
Hare Rāma Hare Rāma Rāma Rāma Hare Hare.[9]

This is the *mantra* for meditation. But you should form small groups of five or ten men, clap your hands and sing in the form of a *kīrtana:*

Haraye namaḥ Kṛṣṇa-Yādavāya namaḥ
Gopāla Govinda Rāma Śrī-Madhusūdana

Even the husband, wife and the chidren can sit together and perform this *kīrtana.*'

After this began the *nagara-saṁkīrtana* in which Viśvambhar used to lead a large number of people singing the *mahā-mantra* round the city (*nagara*), while they played various instruments.

These innovations were Viśvambar's main contribution to the religious life of this country. Everybody irrespective of caste or qualification could join in a common performance of a simple religious rite. Its impact on the mass can be easily imagined.

But old prejudices die hard. One day the poor Śrīdhar began to sing Hari-*nāma* in public and then began to dance. Soon he was joined by a large number of people, who began to denounce, not *vaiṣṇavism,* but the prominence which lowly men like Śrīdhar had come to enjoy. Still the enthusiasm of the citizens for Kṛṣṇa-*nāma* began to increase.

One day the Kāzī (Muslim judge) while going along heard the sound of musical instruments which used to be played by the Hindus during a religious ceremony. He took immediate steps, beat some people, broke the drums and created such a terror that men ran away.

From that day the Kāzī and his men began to patrol Navadvīpa, and people no longer thought of reciting Hari-*nāma* in public. Someone suggested that one should mentally recite the name of Hari, as the present state of affairs was due to ignoring the Vedic injunction (that a *mantra* should be recited mentally like the *Gāyatrī*). The transgression of caste regulations also called for criticism, and it was the general opinion that 'proud Nimāi Paṇḍit was riding for a fall' and the Kāzī would teach him a lesson.

Viśvambhar flew into a terrific rage, when the news of the stoppage of public *saṁkīrtana* by the Kāzī reached him. He ordered Nityānanda to promulgate the news that, that very evening they

would sing *kīrtana* in a procession round Navadvīpa. He also denounced the Kāzī and threatened to destroy his house.

The news of Nimāi Paṇḍit's resolve spread like a wild fire throughout the city. They were particularly attracted that he would himself dance with the party. So everyone prepared for a torch light procession. According to Viśvambhar's direction, the procession was divided into four-groups: the first led by Advait, second by Hari-dās, third by Śrīvās while Viśvambhar and Nityānanda brought up the rear.

Though the figures given by Vṛndāvan-dās is an obvious exaggeration, excusable in a poet, we may well imagine that, on that memorable evening a considerable part of the male population of Navadvīpa followed the lead of her most distinguished son. And there he towered over the crowd; in that illuminated procession all eyes turned on his unusually tall and well-built figure; and his curly locks of hair, decked with flower, flowing loosely over his fair and broad shoulders marked him out even from a distance. Ladies came out on the terrace to see him, and as he came near shouted; 'Hari, Hari'.

Gradually the tempo of the procession began to rise and soon they were gripped by a mass hypnosis, bordering on hysteria and began to abuse the Kāzī lustily. And Viśvambhar began to sing:

tuyā carane mana lāgahuṅ re
Śāraṁga-dhara!
tuyā carane mana lāgahuṅ re[10]

In this evening's procession, the presiding deity was still Kṛṣṇa, but not the young flute player of Vṛndāvana; this evening Viśvambhar invoked the aid of Kṛṣṇa, the mighty *kṣatriya* warrior, the wielder of the terrible Śārṅga bow. Viśvambhar danced; but it was almost a war dance. As Vṛndāvan-dās writes:

Śiva Śiva nāce Viśvambhara
ati sumaṁgalam Śiva Śiv-occāraṇam[11]

By the time the procession reached the Kāzī's house the mob was in a violent frenzy. They invaded the house of the Kāzī, who had fled in terror, and the infuriated people destroyed everything within reach. Then Viśvambhar ordered them to set fire to the Kāzī's house, but now several people interceded and he stopped the carnage.[12]

Then Viśvambhar's rage abated and he sent a few gentlemen (*bhavya-lok*) to call the Kāzī. The Kāzī returned in some trepidation and respectfully bowed his head from a distance. But

Viśvambhar called him and made him sit by his side, and said humorously: 'I came to meet you as your guest; how is it that you hide yourself?' The Kāzī replied: 'You came in an angry mood, so I kept away. Now your temper has cooled and I come to meet you. I am lucky indeed that you are my guest. I used to address your grand-father Nīlāmbar Chakravartī as uncle; so in a way you are my nephew (sister's son). Maternal uncles certainly tolerate the excesses committed by their nephews, and the nephews do not mind any offence committed by their uncles.'

These pleasantries were followed by a long discussion between Viśvambhar and the Kāzī, at the end of which the latter agreed not to interfere in the performance of *saṁkīrtana*. He seems to have kept his promise.[13] On his way home from the Kāzī's house, Viśvambhar stopped at Śrīdhar's house, and accepted drinking water from the poor man's broken metal cup.

So Viśvambhar gained his object. He had induced the people of Navadvīpa to perform *saṁkīrtana*, and now he rendered them free from fear of oppression. His work in Navadvīpa was over, and soon he was to leave the city of his birth.

The chastisement of the Kāzī practically ends what is known as the *Navadvīpa-līlā*, the part of Viśvambhar's life upon which Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* usually meditate. While recounting these incidents Vṛndāvan-dās remarks that the Master's *līlā* is eternal and still goes on in an unmanifested (*aprakaṭa*) form, which can be perceived by the fortunate few. But not only his *līlā* the old city of Navadvīpa where he performed it has now become *aprakaṭa;* it went down under the Ganges long ago when she shifted her course.

1. Hari-dās was a Muslim by birth. He had joined Viśvambhar some time after the arrival of Nityānanda and was present during the *abhiṣeka* ceremony. It should be noted that Hari-dās had been converted long before he met Viśvambhar. For Hari-dās's biography see below Chapter XXI.
2. Jagāi is either derived from Jagadīśa or Jagannātha and Mādhāi from Mādhava. This shows that a personal name is no indication of a man's faith.
3. They used to chant:

   bolo Kṛṣṇa, bhaja Kṛṣṇa, laha Kṛṣṇa-nām
   Kṛṣṇa mātā, Kṛṣṇa pitā, Kṛṣṇa, dhana prāṇ
   tomā̧ sabhā lāgiyā Kṛṣṇer avatār
   hena Kṛṣṇa bhaja sab chāra anācār.

   'Utter the name of Kṛṣṇa, worship Kṛṣṇa, take the name of Kṛṣṇa; Kṛṣṇa is mother, Kṛṣṇa is father, Kṛṣṇa is wealth and life. For you Kṛṣṇa was born as an incarnation; worship Kṛṣṇa, and give up all unworthy activities'.
4. Possibly Advait had done something or had passed certain remarks. But the meaning of verse (in *CBh*. II. xvii) is obscure. Possibly Viśvambhar was moving about in great state, and Advait had criticized his flamboyant manner.
5. Sucking the breast of a male by grown up males is unnatural and possibly repulsive. But Rākhāl (later Svāmī Brahmānanda) used to suck Rāma-Kṛṣṇa's breast. (*Kathāmṛta*, V. iv. 2, p. 37. *LP*, II, *Ṭhākurer Divyabhāv O Narendranāth*, p. 58). At this time Rākhāl was married and about twenty years old, but with Rāma-Kṛṣṇa he behaved like a child. As for dancing, see Sāradā-

nanda's description of Rāma-Kṛṣṇa's dancing at the age of about 49 and his assumption of the role of child Kṛṣṇa at that age. (*LP*, II *Gurubhāv, Uttar*, pp. 288-90.). For a considerable period Rāma-Kṛṣṇa not only dressed like women but lived among the women of Mathur's family. At that time he had adopted the feminine peculiarities so well, that one day even Mathur failed to recognize him. This was on of Rāma-Kṛṣṇa's *sādhanā*. (*LP*, I, *Sādhak-bhāv*, pp. 288-296. See Sāradānanda's explanation ibid, p. 296).

6. The references are to the Puranic accounts of Kṛṣṇa's famous deeds.
7. See Appendix A to this chapter.
8. Viśvambhar never allowed the public to join the *saṁkīrtana* which was performed at night in his house or in the house of Śrīvās or Candraśekhar. Several incidents are related about the people who wanted to force an entry or witness it stealthily.
9. This is Caitanya's famous *mantra* of 32 syllables and most popular in Bengal and Orissa even now. So far as we are aware, this is the only *mantra* which has been uttered in public, and can be recited openly.
10. 'My mind is at thy feet; oh! holder of Śarṁga (bow), my mind is at thy feet.'
11. 'Viśvambhar danced with the name of Śiva (on his lips); it is very auspicious to pronounce "Śiva Śiva"'. But 'Śiva dance' invariably indicates '*tāṇḍava*' that is, the frantic dance of Śiva and his votaries.
12. Here Vṛndāvan-dās's description of this incident ends *CBh*. II, xxiii. What follows is from the *CC*, I. xvii.
13. See Appendix B to this chapter.

CHAPTER XIII

Appendix A

AN INCIDENT INVOLVING ADVAITĀCARYA

B. B. Majumdar (*MC*, p. 198) has dismissed this incident as unhistorical because it is not corroborated by any other contemporary writer. According to him, Murāri's account of Caitanya's activities at Navadvīpa is most authoritative. We do not want to argue this point with so great an authority on Caitanya's biographical literature, but it seems to us that this incident is in keeping with Caitanya's mood of this period. He wanted to kill Jagāi and Mādhāi, attempted to commit suicide, and as we shall presently see raided the Kāzī's house at the head of a mob. Actually, at no stage of his life, Caitanya was averse to inflicting corporal punishment, if the situation demanded it. Even as a *sannyāsin* he slapped his servant at Mathura and in South India applied physical force to remove his servant from the clutches of some miscreants. His conduct was quite proper on both the occasions, but what we want to emphasize is that, if provoked he was capable of lashing out in disregard of consequences. At the time when the incident in Advait's house occurred he was under great emotional strain, particularly because on his way to Santipur, he and Nityānanda had accepted the hospitality of a *sannyāsin*, who turned out to be a very disreputable character, a drunkard who lived with a woman. It may be noted that Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj has referred to this incident though as usual very briefly, (*CC.* I, xvii, 62-64) for, Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj does not give details of the incidents described fully in the *C.Bh.*, which we have followed here. We may cite here a similar incident from Rāma-Kṛṣṇa's life, when he slapped Rāṇī Rāsmaṇi, his employer and old enough to be his mother. (*LP.* I *Gurubhāv*, *Pūrva*, pp. 169-70. *Kathāmṛta*, II. i, 1, pp. 3-4.) Rām-kṛṣṇa explained (ibid) that it was a temporary phase when he could not control his temper, and slapped an old man called Jaya Mukherjee and Rāṇī Rāsmaṇi for being unmindful during prayer.

Appendix B

PUNISHMENT OF THE KĀZĪ

Modern scholars have differed in their opinion of the importance of the incidents involving the Kāzī. While B. B. Majumdar (*MC* pp. 213-14) practically denies it of any significance, Girija-Śaṁkar Ray Chowdhury (op. cit, pp. 174-186) sees great political significance in this incident. We have here given an abridged version of the *C.Bh.* and *CC.*

There is no doubt that Caitanya clashed with the Kāzī, but the degree of its intensity is disputed by modern scholars. Their

suspicion is aroused by the different accounts given in the *C. Bh.* and *CC* as we have already noted. (See above footnote 12). We have mentioned, that for the *Ādi-līlā*, the *CC* expects its readers to read the *C.Bh.*, and only in a few exceptional cases gives some additional details, after offering due apologies to Vṛndāvan-dās, as in the present instance.

There is nothing inherently improbable in the account given in the *CC*. On the contrary, unless Caitanya had arrived at some understanding with the Kāzī, retribution would have certainly followed. All the details given in the *CC* (which we have omitted) may not be true, but the fault probably lies less with the author than with his informants.

Next, the question may be asked: why did Vṛndāvan-dās give an incomplete account, since he most probably heard it from Nityānanda who took part in the incident. (This question may have also occurred to Kavirāj Gosvāmin when he was writing the *CC*.). In answer we would point out the discrepancies in the accounts of Rāma-Kṛṣṇa pointed out above. Even in the example given in Appendix A, Rāma-Kṣṛṇa describing his state told Śrī-*Ma* that he had slapped Rāsmaṇi and Jaya Mukherji, while to Sāradānanda he seems to have mentioned only Rāsmaṇi.

CHAPTER XIV

ĀDI-LĪLĀ vii

Nimāi-sannyās

In the previous chapters (XI-XIII), we have traced the history of Viśvambhar after his return from Gaya. The total period covered in these three chapters consists of little more than one year. This memorable year can be divided into four periods: (1) period during which he continued his work as a teacher; (2) during which he humbly sought the companionship of the *vaiṣṇavas* and begged for their blessings (3) from Vyāsa*pūjā* to *abhiṣeka* ceremony when his complete ascendancy over the *vaiṣṇavas* at Navadvīpa was established; (4) during which neo-*vaiṣṇava* faith was preached publicly and all opposition in Navadvīpa was overcome including that of the Kāzī. Now we come to the last period of his stay at Navadvīpa.

About the duration of these periods, we have no idea, except that the first period lasted for about four months. It is possible, however, that the second and the third periods coalesced to certain extent. Viśvambhar returned from Gaya in early January 1509, so he must have given up his teaching early in May 1509. Vyāsa-*pūjā* was held on the full-moon night of Āṣāḍha, which usually falls in the middle of June; thus within a month of giving up his teaching, Viśvambhar gained recognition as the leader. The date of *abhiṣeka* is not known. Hence it is not possible to say anything about the duration of the other two periods. However, we may assume that the various incidents related above occupied ten to eleven months, so that Viśvambhar probably stayed at Navadvīpa hardly two months after the incident with the Kāzī.

The last period of Viśvambhar's stay at Navadvīpa was not devoid of incidents. But these consisted mostly of manifestation of supernatural powers, such as appearance in the forms of various incarnations to satisfy his devotees. Indeed, according to his biographers, during the whole year he manifested this power, whatever one may think of such statements. But some time after the incident with the Kāzī, Viśvambhar decided to change totally his mode of life.

One day he was sitting possessed by the emotion (*bhāva*) of the *gopīs* (milk-maids of Vṛndāvana) and in an ecstatic mood began

to repeat the word *'gopī'* with devotional fervour. A student came to see him and finding him thus, suggested that he should repeat the name of Kṛṣṇa, for repetition of the word *gopī* could gain him no merit. Disturbed in his devotional mood, Viśvambhar, who was in a state of semi-trance, flared up and grasping a stick rushed at the student who luckily was able to make good his escape. Viśvambhar's followers calmed him but the student went and complained to his friends. This enraged the student community (*gaṇa*), or at least a large number of them, who swore to settle accounts with 'Nimāi', should he again attempt to assault a *brāhmaṇa*. In the meantime they made propaganda of this notorious incident.

Viśvambhar came to learn of it, and this set him thinking. Actually he had been disinclined to return home from Gaya, and this latest incident reinforced him in his earlier resolution to leave home and become a *sannyāsin*. He reasoned that his mission in life could not be accomplished from home; people would not respect him unless he became a monk.[1] About this time a monk called Keśav Bhāratī came to Navadvīpa, and he agreed to initiate Viśvambhar into monastic life.

One day sitting with some followers, Viśvambhar said: 'A man ate a piece of *pippal* to cure cough, but the malady became even more acute', and he began to laugh heartily. Only Nityānanda understood the significance of this riddle; probably his face betrayed him for Viśvambhar took him aside and said: 'I came to deliver the world from sin and damnation, but now I find that I am becoming the cause of binding men even more securely to the shackles of mundane existence. As soon as the students thought of hitting me back, they forged an endless chain for themselves. Tomorrow, I shall shave my head, throw away my sacred thread, become a *sannyāsin*, and beg at the doors of those who wanted to beat me. They themselves will fall at my feet; thus only I can redeem them. A *sannyāsin* is universally respected; no one beats a *sannyāsin*. Let me see who beats me as from tomorrow I beg from door to door as a *sannyāsin*. I have decided to give up the life of a householder; please have no regrets, but tell me the proper procedure of becoming a *sannyāsin*. If you want the deliverance of the world, do not prevent me; do not be sorry; you know why I was born.'

With a heavy heart, Nityānanda agreed, for, as he expressed it, Viśvambhar could not be deflected from the course he had set upon for himself. But he began to cry, thinking of Śacī. Viśvambhar then went to Mukunda's house and appraised them of his decision. Mukunda begged him to stay on with them and continue the *saṁ*-

kīrtana, but Viśvambhar was firm in his determination. He then went to Gadādhar with the same news; Gadādhar protested pointing out that it was unnecessary to become a monk since there were so many householder *vaiṣṇavas*. But neither Gadādhar, nor the other *vaiṣṇavas*, to whom Viśvambhar communicated his decision, could influence him. He consoled them by saying that he would never leave his devotees.[2]

Then Viśvambhar went home and informed his mother. Her loud lamentations deeply affected him and his voice got choked with emotion. For long he did not reply. Then he said: 'You were my mother in all my previous incarnations. When you were Pṛśni, I was born as your son; then you were successively born as Aditi, Devahūti, Kauśalyā, and Devakī, and I was born as your son, Vāmana, Kapila, Rāmacandra and Kṛṣṇa. I promise you I shall be born as your son in two more births. So please do not grieve for me.'

This possibly had some effect on Śacī and Viśvambhar too spent a few more days in Navadvīpa performing *saṁkīrtana*. Then he fixed the Uttarāyana-*saṁkraman* day (Saturday, 29 Māgha, 1431 Śaka era) for his initiation into monastic life.[3] On Tuesday he informed Nityānanda, that next day he would go to Katwa and be initiated by Keśav Bhāratī. This news was to be divulged to five persons only, namely, Śacī, Gadādhar, Brahmānanda, Ćandrasekharācārya and Mukunda.

The morning of Wednesday was spent in *saṁkīrtana* with the *vaiṣṇavas*. Then he had his usual midday meal. In the evening he went to the Ganges and bowing to the river sat on her banks for a while. Then he returned home, and spent the rest of the evening in pleasant talks with his followers, none of whom suspected that this was to be the last night. His devotees had brought him garlands; these he distributed among them and bade them to be always in rapport with Kṛṣṇa. As he was asking them to go home, Śrīdhar, the vegetable seller, came with a gourd. Since he was leaving very early in the morning, Viśvambhar asked his mother to cook it, for a present from Śrīdhar, he felt, should not be even indirectly refused. At this time some one brought a little milk; Viśvambhar laughed at the coincidence, and asked his mother to cook the gourd with the milk.

Thus he spent up to the second watch of the night; then with his permission all the *vaiṣṇavas* took leave, and Viśvambhar lay down with Hari-dās and Gadādhar in the same room. Śacī spent the whole night weeping. When four *daṇḍas* of night were left

Viśvambhar got up and collected the necessary articles; Gadādhar and Hari-dās wanted to accompany him, but he prevented them from doing so. Ultimately Nityānanda, Ćandraśekhar and Mukunda accompanied him to Katwa.

Then came the saddest part of leave taking; Śacī was sitting at the door. Viśvambhar took her hands in his and said: 'Mother, you have brought me up; you have educated me. You always looked after my comfort; not for a moment have you thought of yours. What you have done for me, I shall not be able to repay even in a million births; for ever I shall remain indebted to you. Mother, it is all God's will; no one has the power to be really independent; it is He who brings us together and then separates us; who can fathom His will. It would matter little if I left today, or ten days later. All responsibility for you, in this life and in the life to come, is mine and mine alone.' Then he embraced Śacī and repeated: 'All responsibility for you is mine and mine alone.'[4]

Both of them wept silently for some time, then taking the dust from his mother's feet, Viśvambhar circumambulated her, and set out for Katwa, while his mother sat there dumb with pain, gazing at the receding figure of her only child. And thus the *vaiṣṇavas* found her sitting there, when they came to pay their respects to the Master in the morning after bathing in the Ganges. Śrīvās first pointed out: 'Why is *āi* (mother) sitting there at the entrance door,' he said. For long she could not speak, only tears flowed from her eyes. Then she spoke very briefly and figuratively of what had happened. Soon the news spread throughout Navadvīpa and the city was enveloped in wails of loud lamentations.[5]

In the meantime, Viśvambhar and his companions crossed the Ganges and arrived at Katwa, a village twenty-four miles west of Navadvīpa. There Viśvambar fell at the feet of Keśav Bhāratī and begged to be initiated in order that he could be a real slave of Kṛṣṇa. Many people, men and women, gathered there, and looked wonderingly at the handsome young man who was about to forsake all worldly pleasures.

Viśvambhar was in a state of ecstasy, and looking at him Keśav Bhāratī said: 'I perceive in you divine powers, you are the *jagad-guru* (world-preceptor), none is qualified to be your *guru*. Still in order to maintain the traditional conventions you want me to be your *guru*.' The night was spent in conversation.

By Saturday morning, at Viśvambhar's bidding, Candraśekhar had collected all the articles necessary for initiation. A barber came

and tonsured Viśvambhar; then the ceremonial bath in the Ganges over, he came and sat near Keśav Bhāratī and repeated to the latter a *mantra* which he had heard in a dream. Keśav Bhāratī gladly initiated him with that *mantra.*

Then Viśvambhar put on the red robes[6] of a *sannyāsin,* and Keśav Bhāratī named him Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya (he who awakens Śrī-Kṛṣṇa in the hearts of all).

1. Here people means *brāhmaṇas;* for Viśvambhar being a *brāhmaṇa* commanded respect from all non-*brāmaṇas* by virtue of his birth. And the commotion against him was due to the fact that the student whom he had threatened to assault was a *brāhmaṇa.*
2. While consoling his devotees Viśvambhar promised that he would take two more births. The Bhairavī Brāhmaṇī used to quote these verses from *C.Bh.* (not to be found in the edition we are using) to prove her contention that, Rāma-Kṛṣṇa was an incarnation of Caitanya. *LP,* I, *Sādhak-bhāv,* p. 176. Rāma-Kṛṣṇa has also made similar prophecies, see Swami Gambhirananda: *Śrī Mā Sāradā Devī* (Bengali) (1962), pp. 584-587. Śrī Mā Sāradā Devī used to say that she was born with Rāma-Kṛṣṇa in all his incarnations.
3. For this date see *MC* p. 9. According to Sri Radha Govinda Nath it was a Saturday, CC. Introduction volume p. 415. It would be about 23 January, 1510.
4. Viśvambhar was apparently referring to the fact that a *sannyāsin* cannot offer oblations to his relatives. He was the only son, therefore Śacī would be deprived from receiving her son's oblations after her death. This to an orthodox *brāhmaṇa* woman like Śacī was a major calamity. Possibly, Viśvambhar had in mind the example of Śaṁkara, who offered oblations to his dead mother. But the occasion did not arise, as he predeceased his mother.
5. Of all episodes in Caitanya's life, this seems to be most popular in modern Bengal, and many poems and even dramas have been written on this theme. We have based our account on the *C.Bh.* and the *CC,* where Visṇupriyā is not even mentioned. Locan and Jayānanda have given elaborate description of Vaśvambhar's farewell from his wife; but they are so unrealistically real, that, even Girija-Śaṁkar Roy Chowdhury (op. cit. p. 207), after quoting copiously from both has to dismiss Locan's account as unhistorical. We would say the same about Jayānanda's account.
6. Caitanya's robes are always described as *aruṇa-varṇa;* though ochre colour is usual. For another explanation of 'Caitanya', see below Chapter XXII.

CHAPTER XV

MADHYA-LĪLĀ i

Journey to Puri[1]

The initiation ceremony over, Caitanya left for Vṛndāvana reciting a verse from the *Bh.P.* (XI. xxiii. 58): 'I, too, shall cross the terrible and dark ocean of the world by serving the lotus feet of Mukunda, the supreme lord, as did the sages of yore.'

For three days and nights, without food or rest, Caitanya roamed in high ecstacy in search for his beloved Kṛṣṇa. But he was still in Rāḍha (Burdwan District). At last Nityānanda was obliged to feign that the way to Vṛndāvana was in the opposite direction and managed to bring him near Santipur,[2] and when Caitanya asked to see the Yamunā, Nityananda pointed out the Ganges. Caitanya was aglow with happiness, but just then Advait appeared, previously warned by Candraśekhar whom Nityānanda had sent in advance. Though his dream was shattered, Advait managed to lead Caitanya to his house and to accept his lavish hospitality. In the evening they began to sing:

> *ki kahiba re sakhī! (ājuka) ānanda ora*
> *ciradine Mādhava mandire mora.*[3]

Advait, Nityānanda and Hari-dās danced with others, Caitanya looked on. He was in an attitude of frustration, as he had not yet gained union with Kṛṣṇa, and this separation made his passionate love torment him more fiercely. Then Mukunda began to sing: 'Dear friend! *mine is only woe, boundless misery surrounds me. Love for Kṛṣṇa (like unto poison) consumes my body and soul. My heart burns day and night, I find no peace. Oh that I could fly where Kṛṣṇa is.*'

Caitanya now began to dance and he danced for three hours, till Nityānanda forced him to take rest.

In the morning, Candraśekhar brought Śacī, and a vast crowd of followers gathered from Navadvīpa. Śacī was distracted to see his shaven head; she wiped his body, kissed his mouth, and sat gazing intently at him; tears filled her eyes. She said: 'Nimāi, my darling, be not cruel to me as Viśvarūp was, whom I never saw after he turned hermit. If you too do so, it will kill me.'

Caitanya, overcome with emotion, replied: 'Mother, this body is your gift, it is not mine. You gave me birth, you nursed me. Even in ten million births I shall be unable to pay my debt to you. True I have become a *sannyāsin*, but I shall never ignore you. I shall live wherever you bid me; I shall act as you command.' So saying Caitanya bowed to his mother, and she embraced him.

The days were passed in rejoicing at the reunion. After a few days Caitanya called his followers and told them that it was improper for a monk to live with his kindreds in his birth-place; hence a proper place for his residence had to be selected. So Advait and others went to consult Śacī and she said: 'I would have been happy if he stayed here; but it would hurt me if he were blamed for doing so. Let him then live at Nīlācala (Puri), which is, as it were, next door to Navadvīpa. People are continuously passing between the two places, and I shall always get his news.[4] You all also may go there from time to time, and he too may come here for the Ganges-bath. My feelings do not count; I am happy if only Nimāi is happy.'

The Master was happy at his mother's selection of his future residence. He called together his followers and addressed them: 'My friends, grant me this prayer, all of you, that you may ever in your homes sing Kṛṣṇa's *saṁkīrtana*,—Kṛṣṇa's name, Kṛṣṇa's deeds and worship Kṛṣṇa. Now give me leave to go to Nīlācala. I shall visit you from time to time.' They pointed out that Bengal and Orissa were at war, hence the journey to Puri might be dangerous; but Caitanya assured them that he would proceed with due care.

Hari-dās was old; he fell at the Master's feet; how could he see the Master again? Caitanya promised him, that, he would pray to Jagannātha to take Hari-dās to Puri.

Then Advait begged him to stay there for a few more days. He agreed and there was loud rejoicing. Daily did Advaitācārya hold the grand celebration—the sweet discourse on Kṛṣṇa; during the day and at night also there was the *saṁkīrtana*. Joyfully did Śacī cook, and merrily did the Master dine with his followers.

Then at the end of ten days, Caitanya told them: 'Go you all to your homes; there sing Kṛṣṇa's *saṁkīrtana*. We shall meet again, either here or at Puri.' Consoling his mother, he bowed reverently at her feet, circumambulated her, and then set off with Nityānanda, Jagadānanda, Dāmodar, and Mukunda. Cry of anguish rose from every throat, but the Master quickened his pace. Advait followed him for some distance weeping; then Caitanya turned

back and said with folded hands: 'You should comfort my mother and look after the congregation; if you too give way to grief, all will be lost.'

After embracing, he turned Advait back and resumed his journey.

2

Caitanya first ascertained whether his companions had taken any articles with them; when he found that they were completely destitute, he was happy. They halted at the village Ātisār from where they reached Chatrabhog,[5] where he worshipped the Śiva-*liṁga*, which always remained under water. Here they were entertained by the head of the local administration, Rām-chandra Khān, who warned them that war was still going on with Orissa, hence the crossing over the river-border was beset with danger from free-booters. However, Rām-chandra arranged for their safe crossing.[6]

Setting his foot on the soils of Oḍra-country (Orissa) the Master and his companions paid their homage by bowing to the land.

They again set on their journey and in a few days came to Remuṇā.[7] From Remuṇā they went to Jājpur and then to Cuttack, where they visited the famous temple of Sākṣī-Gopāl, who had been brought from Vidyānagara (on the Godavari, not to be confused with Vijayanagara) by the victorious king Puruṣottama of Orissa. From Cuttack they went to Bhuvanesvar. There they bathed in the Vindu-*sarovara*, and then proceeded to the Liṁgarāja temple where Caitanya danced in honour of Śiva. After a night's halt at Bhuvanesvar, they proceeded again; here Caitanya bathed in the Bhārgī[8] river and giving his staff (*daṇḍa*) to Nityānanda, he went to the Kapoteśvara (Śiva) temple to worship. For some unaccountable reason, Nityānanda broke the staff into three pieces and threw them into the river.

As Caitanya came out of the temple, he found that the tall spire of the Jagannātha temple was visible.[9] In great joy he began to laugh, weep, dance, and roar, 'and made a thousand leagues of these six miles'. On reaching Āṭhāra-nālā,[10] Caitanya recovered his senses a little, and asked for his staff. He was annoyed, when he heard its fate, and as a punishment forbade his companions to enter Puri with him. Mukunda then suggested that the Master should proceed alone and they follow him.

3

Thus it was that, when Caitanya arrived at Puri, he was all alone; a young mendicant without any possession, not even a staff.

Straight away he made for the temple of Jagannātha, and at last reaching his destination, rushed to embrace the image, the *Dāru-Brahma.* Before he could do so, he fell down in a trance, and as the guards advanced to throw him out, Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma stopped them. It was indeed a piece of luck that Sārvabhauma was there; as he gazed at the beaming face of the handsome young monk, an upsurge of love overpowered him. Sārvabhauma waited for long; the hour of *bhoga*[11] arrived, yet the monk did not come to his senses. In alarm Sārvabhauma held a fine piece of cotton at the monk's nose; it stirred and Sārvabhauma was relieved, and reminded himself: 'This is the *sāttvika* form of the passion for Kṛṣṇa. It is called *sudīpta-sāttvika* (radiant pure), and is displayed only by a devotee who has attained *nitya-siddhi* (perpetual realization). This ecstasy is possible only in one who has attained the stage of highest bliss. It is surprising to see these manifestations in a human body.'

When Nityānanda and others arrived at the temple's main entrance gate, they heard that a monk had fainted in the temple, and Sārvabhauma had him carried to his house; they realized that it was indeed the Master. Now luckily for them, Sārvabhauma's brother-in-law, Gopīnāth, by chance arrived there. He knew Mukunda and they embraced each other. Mukunda introduced his companions to Gopīnāth and explained the situation to him. Gopīnāth gladly conducted them to Sārvabhauma's residence.

There the Master and his companions were reunited to the great relief of the latter. Sārvabhauma bowed to Nityānanda and saluted the others in proper mode. Then he sent them all in charge of his son Candreśvar to the temple.

In the third quarter of the day, Caitanya awoke with the name of 'Hari' on his lips. Then at Sārvabhauma's entreaty, he took his bath in the sea, and sat with his followers to a meal of *mahā-prasāda.*[12]

After the meal was over, Caitanya took some rest. When he came out in the afternoon, Gopīnāth told Sārvabhauma of Caitanya's family. Sārvabhauma was very glad, for his father was a class-mate of Nīlāmbar Cakravartī, Caitanya's maternal grandfather, and he had great respect for Caitanya's father. Delighted to hear of Caitanya's family Sārvabhauma offered him unconditional service because the latter not only came from a good family but besides was a monk. Caitanya was embarrassed, and pointed out that, while Sārvabhauma was a great *vedāntin,* he was but a young monk, and, it was more befitting, that he should study under Sār-

vabhauma. He also thanked Sārvabhauma for saving him in the temple, and promised that henceforth he would not enter the shrine but gaze at the deities from the Garuḍa pillar.[13] It was also decided that Gopīnāth should always accompany the Master to the temple. His residence was fixed at Sārvabhauma's maternal aunt's house.

Next morning, after the visit to the temple was over,[14] they returned to Sārvabhauma's residence. Then Sārvabhauma asked the name of Caitanya's *sampradāya* and when Gopīnāth told him, he regretted the Master's selection of the Bhāratī order, though he praised the selection of the name.[15]

Sārvabhauma now suggested that he would teach Caitanya the philosophy of Advaita-*vedānta,* and after the latter became a good monist, he could join a higher order. This led to a dispute between Gopīnāth on one side and Sārvabhauma and his disciples on the other, which soon turned into a philosophical dispute about the respective merits of perceptual cognition and inference as means of God realization. Gopīnāth asserted that Caitanya was an incarnation, which Sārvabhauma refuted on the authority of the scriptures. Gopīnāth on his side quoted from the *Bh. P.* (X. viii. 13 and XI. v. 32) and the *Mahābhārata.*[16] At last Gopīnāth was exasperated and exclaimed: 'Sārvabhauma, it is useless to waste words on you; they will bear no more fruits than seeds sown on a barren soil. You will be convinced only when His grace descends on you. I do not blame your disciples, who are arguing with me; they are under the illusion of *māyā*. As the *Bhāgavata* puts it: "I bow to the omnipotent supreme God, whose power of illusion raises endless controversies among logicians fond of dispute, and keep their soul ever wrapt in delusion." Again as Kṛṣṇa told Uddhava: "What the sages have said are all true (but from their points of view). They were enmeshed in my *māyā*, hence it was possible for them to say anything."' (*Bh.* P. VI, iv. 31; XI, xxii. 4).

The relation between Sārvabhauma and Gopīnāth allowed them great liberty of speech,[17] but they were good friends. So at Sārvabhauma's request, Gopīnāth went to invite Caitanya. There he began to criticize Sārvabhauma's attitude, but Caitanya said, 'Please, do not say so. Sārvabhauma has really favoured me; he wants me to live the life of monk properly, and looks on me with paternal affection. What is wrong with it?'

The next day Sārvabhauma began to teach Caitanya the *vedānta.*[18] With tender reverence he told his pupil: 'It is a *sannyāsin's* duty to listen to the *Vedānta-*(*sūtra*). You should listen

to me carefully.' Caitanya replied: 'This indeed is a great favour. Whatever you tell me is my duty.'

For seven days Caitanya listened in absolute silence. On the eighth day, Sārvabhauma asked him: 'For seven days have you heard me in unbroken silence. I know not whether you follow me or not.' Caitanya frankly admitted that, he did not at all understand Sārvabhauma's interpretation, but was listening, because he had been told that it was a monk's duty to do so. Sārvabhauma was slightly upset, and retorted: 'A man, who realizes that he has failed to understand, asks for the lesson to be explained again. But you have kept absolutely silent. I cannot understand you.' Caitanya replied: 'I can understand very clearly the meaning (and the implications) of the aphorisms, but your commentary puzzles me. A commentary should elucidate the text, whereas your exposition obscures its meaning. You do not expound the plain meaning of the aphorisms, but cover them up with your fanciful interpretation. In these aphorisms Vyāsa has plainly given the main tenets of the Upaniṣads. But you discard the primary meaning of the text and attribute secondary meaning to it; thus you give up the *abhidhā-vṛtti,* and explain it with the help of *lakṣaṇā.*[19] *Śruti* (Vedas) is the chief among proofs; and the primary meaning of the *Śruti* texts can alone carry conviction.

'Conch-shell and cow-dung are but the bone and ordure of animals; and yet they are taken as ultra-pure because the *Śruti* says so. The truth of the Vedas is self-evident; (therefore) whatever is declared (in the Vedas) is truth; but this self-evident nature of the Vedas is lost if it is explained with the help of *lakṣaṇā.* The sense of Vyāsa's *aphorisms* is as clear as day light; but you are clouding it with your highly subjective (and speculative) interpretation. The Vedas and the Purāṇas tell us how to discern Brahman; He is attributed with all *aiśvarya* and is Svayaṁ-Bhagavān,[20] and yet you describe him as formless? The *Śrutis* which speak of him as undifferentiated exclude his material form, only to establish his transcendental form.[21]

'From Brahman the universe originates; it lives in Brahman and is merged in Brahman after dissolution. He is (related to the world) in three attributive cases, ablative, instrumental and locative. These three attributes particularize Brahman as 'qualified'. When He desired to be many, he looked at his *prākṛta* (material) powers. The material mind and eye did not exist at that time; therefore the eyes and mind of Brahman are non-material. Brahman means Perfect Supreme Lord (*pūrṇa-svayaṁ-bhagavān*), and

according to the scriptures *svayaṁ-bhagavān* means Kṛṣṇa.[22] The meaning of the Vedas is too deep for human understanding, but the Purāṇas make their sense clear. As has been said in the *Bhāgavata.* (X. xiv. 32) "Blessed, blessed indeed are Nanda and the cowherds of Vraja, whose friend is the beatific, perfect, (and) eternal Brahman."

'*Śruti* denies to Brahman material hands and feet, and yet it says that He moves swiftly and receives everything. Therefore the *Śrutis* say that Brahman is qualified; but if the primary meaning is discarded and it is interpreted only by *lakṣaṇā*, then the *Śrutis* can be interpreted to mean that Brahman is absolutely unqualified. How do you call Him formless who has the six *aiśvaryas*.[23] It is in the nature of Brahman to have three powers, how can you then conclude that he is powerless. As has been said in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (VI. vii. 61): 'Viṣṇu's energy is called supreme; that of *kṣetrajña* (conscious embodied spirit) is ulterior; that which is derived from ignorance or action is a third (kind of power).' Again the same Purāṇa (I. xii. 69) says: 'The *hlādinī, sandhinī* and the *samvit* (*śaktis*) are all located in you (Viṣṇu); (these powers can lead to) bliss or suffering or a mixture (of bliss or suffering) but they cannot affect you who are free from all reals (*guna*)'.

'In his essential nature Īśvara is the plentitude of *sat*, (existence) *cit* (knowledge) and *ānanda* (bliss), (and) his essential power takes three forms in these three aspects; thus the power (*śakti*) of *ānanda* attribute is *hlādinī*, of *sat* is *sandhinī*, and of *cit* is *samvit*, which is admitted to be *jñāna* (knowledge). *Cit-śakti* is *antaraṁga* (essentially proximate), *jīva-śakti* (*śakti* of individual soul) is *taṭasthā* (lit. on the shore, that is between *cit-śakti* and *māyā-śakti*), while *māyā-śakti* is external to Him;[24] but all the three *śaktis* serve Him through love and devotion.

'The Lord's six *aiśvaryas* are the manifestation of the final transformation of His *cit-śakti*, and yet you have the presumption to deny such a power? The difference between Īśvara and *jīva* (individual soul) is that He is the lord of *māyā*, while the latter is controlled by *māyā*, and yet you affirm that *jīva* and Īśvara are identical! As the *Gītā* says: "My Prakṛti is of eightfold composition; earth, water, fire ether, mind, intellect and ego. You must understand that behind *this, and distinct from it*, is That which is the principle of consciousness in all beings, and the source of life in all. It sustains the universe."[25] The Illustrious Form of Īśvara is (made) of *sat, cit,* and *ānanda,* and yet you assert that It is a product of the transformation of the *sattva* real (*guṇa*). He who denies (or denounces) the Illus-

trious Form is an atheist; such a man, who will be punished by Yama, is not only an untouchable, but should not even be looked upon. The Buddhist atheists deny the supremacy of the Vedas; those atheists who pay lip service to the Vedas are even worse than the Buddhists. Vyāsa composed his aphorisms for the salvation of man; but perdition is certain if one listens to the interpretation of his aphorisms by the *māyā-vādins* (monists).

'Vyāsa has admitted the doctrine of transformation (*pariṇāma-vāda*); by His inconceivable power (*acintya-śakti*), He transforms Himself as the phenomenal world (but yet remains unaffected by it). The (Syāmantaka) jewel produced gold everyday without undergoing any change (in its essential nature); so does Īśvara produce the phenomenal world without undergoing any modification whatsoever. Objecting to that aphorism as Vyāsa's error. *vivarta-vāda* has been fancifully promulgated.[26] Creation is not false, it is transitory. *Praṇava* is the *mahā-vākya*,[27] and is the image[28] of Īśvara; from the *praṇava* have evolved the Vedas and the world. (The words) *tat tvam asi* represent partial truth, but in disregard of the *praṇava* you call them the *mahā-vākya*.'[29]

Thus did the Master find a hundred faults with the fanciful interpretation (of the monists). Sārvabhauma tried to uphold his position by using such logical devices as *viṭaṇḍā*, *chala* and *nigraha* etc.[30] But the Master demolished them and established his own view, which was that, the Vedas establish three propositions, namely, *Bhagavān* is the object of substantiation, *bhakti* (devotion) is the duty (*abhidheya*) of man, and love is the need (*prayojana*);[31] all the rest[32] are mere conjectures. He said 'Thus in the self-valid propositions of the Vedas he (Śaṁkara) has introduced the *lakṣaṇā*.[33] The Ācārya (Śaṁkara) is not to be blamed; he was ordered by God, therefore he produced atheistic scriptures by his fanciful interpretations. As has been said in the *Padma-purāṇa* (*Uttar*, LXII. 31): "O Śiva, do thou by your fanciful scriptures drive the men away from me, and hide me also, so that the creation may become more and more diverse." It is also said in the same *Purāṇa* (XXV 7): ("Śiva said,) 'O Devī, *māyā-vāda* (monism) is a false doctrine and is called Buddhism in disguise. I myself promulgated it in the shape of a *brāhmaṇa* (Śaṁkara) during the Kali age."'

Sārvabhauma was awed into silence; then addressing him the Master continued: 'Devotion to God is the chief object in life. Even the freed souls devote themselves to the worship of the Lord, such is the marvel of His infinite qualities. As the *Bhāgavata* says (*Bh.P.* I. vii. 10): "Hari possesses such attractive qualities, that

even sages who are free from all worldly desires feel for him unreasoning devotion." '[34]

Sārvabhauma now asked Caitanya to elucidate the meaning of this verse; but the latter prevailed upon Sārvabhauma to explain its meaning. Sārvabhauma explained the verse in nine different manners, and then Caitanya smiled at him and said: 'Sārvabhauma, you are as learned as Bṛhaspati, and none is his equal in expounding the scriptures. You have given scholastic explanations, but this verse is capable of yielding other meanings too.' Then Caitanya ignoring the nine interpretations given by Sārvabhauma gave eighteen different explanations of this verse.

First he determined the meaning of each word in the verse; then he gave 18 different explanation in connection with *ātmārāma*,[35] laying emphasis on each of the eleven words (of the verse) in succession. He established that, the Lord, His powers and His attributes are great but are incomprehensible and, unutterable. It is these which captivate the heart of the realized devotees, overshadowing all other goals and spiritual practices, as is proved by the lives of Śuka, Sanaka and other sages.

Thus did Caitanya explain the verse in various ways, which filled his awestruck listener with the belief that this young monk 'he indeed is Kṛṣṇa Himself. 'Alas', thought Sārvabhauma, ously sinned by displaying to him my pride.' With profound self-abasement he sought refuge with the Master, who graciously appeared to him first, as the four-armed Viṣṇu, and then as Kṛṣṇa playing on the flute. At this vision Sārvabhauma fell prostrate on the ground like a log of wood; then he rose and began to pray with folded hands.

The Master's grace now bestowed on Sārvabhauma the knowledge of all the *tattvas* (categories), and he began to describe the glory of the Name, *prema-dāna*[36] et cetera, and in a moment he composed a hundred verses. Hearing Sārvabhauma, Caitanya was pleased and embraced him; and Sārvabhauma fainted in an ecstasy of joy. Weeping, with his limbs stiffened, horripilating, a violently agitated and perspiring Sārvabhauma fell at the Master's feet and began to sing, dance and cry. The sight delighted Gopīnāth and Caitanya's companions, who seem to have witnessed the incident. Caitanya then comforted Sārvabhauma, who praised the Master's wonderful powers which had converted a hardened logician like him.

Next day Caitanya went to the Jagannātha temple very early, and received from the priests some *prasāda* (food offering to God)

with which he hastened to Sārvabhauma's house, and woke him up. Sārvabhauma gratefully received some *prasāda* which the Master gave him, and, without performing the obligatory morning rites, ate it. This was in conformity with the injunctions of the *Padma-purāṇa* (a *vaiṣṇava* text) and so Caitanya was very happy. He embraced Sārvabhauma and they danced in joy.

Sārvabhauma now totally shed his scholarly pride. Henceforth he knew nothing except the Master's feet and expounded no scripture except that of *bhakti*. One day he asked Caitanya the chief means of cultivating faith, and the latter told him to chant Hari's name:

Harer-nāma Harer-nāma Harer-nām=aiva kevalam
kalau n=āsty=eva n=āsty=eva n=āsty=eva gatir anyathā.[37]

Caitanya explained the full implications of this verse.

Later in the day, Sārvabhauma sent with Jagadānanda and Damodār sumptuous *prasād* from Jagannātha temple and the following two verses addressed to Caitanya:

vairāgya-vidyā-nija-bhakti-yoga-
śikṣārtham ekaḥ puruṣaḥ purāṇaḥ
Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya-śarīra-dhārī
kṛpāmbudhir yas tam aham prapadye
kālān naṣṭaṁ bhakti-yogaṁ nijaṁ yaḥ
prāduṣkartuṁ Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya-nāmā
āvirbhūtas tasya pādāravinde
gāḍhaṁ gāḍhaṁ līyatāṁ citta-bhṛṁgaḥ[38]

Jagadānanda took the precaution of copying the two verses on the wall, before handing the palm-leaf (on which the verse was written) to Caitanya. He read it once and tore it up.

But Sārvabhauma was completely changed. One day he recited a verse from the *Bh.P.* (X. xiv. 8) where the last line contains the word *mukti* (liberation), but which he read as *bhakti* (devotion). For this great monist no longer hankered for liberation; he was now concerned solely with *bhakti*. When Caitanya pointed out his mistake, Sārvabhauma replied that he was no longer capable of uttering that word (*mukti*).

At this a delighted Caitanya clasped Sārvabhauma firmly to his bosom.

For the people of Puri, Sārvabhauma's conversion was a miracle; true *vaiṣṇava* spirit was firmly rooted in the heart of a confirmed monist like the great Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, and this too after a few days' contact with Caitanya. The young monk must be the

Darling of Vraja, they thought. Then did Kāśī Miśra and others, the great men of Puri, come to pay their respectful homage to the Master.

1. Puri, which is an abbreviated form of Jagannāthapuri, is a modern name. In former days it was known as Nīlācala or Śrī-kṣetra.
2. Santipur is about twelve miles south-east of Navadvipa.
3. 'My friend! how to describe my boundless bliss to-day. At long last Mādhava (Kṛṣṇa) has come to my house.'
4. Caitanya had at first decided to go to Vṛndāvana, which in those days was a forlorn village; its glory was restored much later by Caitanya and his followers. Hence Śacī did not favour Vṛndāvana.
5. Chatrabhog is in 24 Parganas District, W. Bengal.
6. From the other side of the river began the territory of King Pratāparudra of Orissa.
7. Remuṇā is six miles north-west of Baleswar in Orissa.
8. Modern Bhargovi river, 6 miles north of Puri.
9. Sir Jadunath Sarkar (*Chaitanya's Life And Teachings*, p. 57 f.n.) suggests that the place was evidently Jagannath Vallabh six miles north of Puri, from where the spire of the Jgannātha temple can be seen.
10. *Āṭhāra-nālā*, which means eighteen water courses, is a bridge of 18 arches; a famous example of Orissan architecture; it is about 2 miles north of Puri.
11. At this time food is offered to the deities and the temple is closed to the public.
12. Food-offerings to Jagannātha. Many people in Puri subsisted on this *mahā-prasāda* till recently; it is wholesome, delicious and inexpensive.
13. The priests still point out Caitanya's fingerprints on the pillar.
14. Caitanya visited the Jagannātha temple very early in the morning every day of his stay at Puri.
15. Śaṁkara had established ten orders, namely, Tīrtha, Āśrama, Vana, Araṇya, Giri, Parvata, Sāgara, Puri, Bhāratī and Sarasvati. It is said that for some reason, Śaṁkara got angry with some of his disciples, and took away the staff of some of them and broke the staff into two equal halves of some others. Those whose staffs were broken (e.g. Giri, etc.) are known as the low orders, while those whose staffs were broken into two (e.g. Bhāratī) are known as the medium-orders; as Caitanya's preceptor Keśav was a Bhāratī, he too was a Bhāratī, hence he belonged to the medium order.
16. *Mahābhārata* XIII, cxl, 92. The first line of quotation given in the *CC* agrees with the *Mbh*, but the second line is entirely different.
17. Gopīnāth had married Sārvabhauma's sister. This gave him license to argue with Sārvabhauma and even to reproach him, though the latter was a far better scholar. None else would possibly have dared to speak to Sārvabhauma in this manner. It is evident from the CC, that Gopīnāth had heard of Caitanya before his arrival at Puri.
18. Which text Sārvabhauma was teaching is not mentioned, but it is almost certain that he was explaining the *Br.S.*
19. *Abhidhā* or *mukhya-vṛtti* is 'primary meaning'. *Lakṣaṇā* has been defined by Mammaṭa as follows: 'When the primary meaning is precluded (by incompatibility), another meaning, in affinity therewith, comes to be implied—either on the basis of usage or for a special purpose,—this process of imposed implication is called "Indication". *Lakṣaṇā*'; *Kāvyaprakāśa*, II.9. Tr. by Sir Ganganath Jha.
20. Aiśvarya means 'majesty' or 'magnificence'; here it stands for *'śakti'*, power; *svayaṁ Bhagavān*, means 'God himself', but here evidently it means Kṛṣṇa, see *Bh.P.* I. iii. 28.
21. Here a similar verse from Kavi-karṇapura's *Caitanya-candrodaya* has been interposed by Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj, to emphasize Caitanya's doctrine.
22. See above f.n. 20.
23. Six *aiśvaryas* are: Complete power of domination; perfect strength, perfect fame, possession of all wealth; omniscience and perfect sense of renunciation.
24. All *śakti* belongs to God, but he is not qualified by *māyā*, that is unaffected just as a snake is not affected by its own poison.
25. Tr. by Swami Prabhavananda and C. Isherwood.
26. *Vivarta-vāda* is Śaṁkara's famous doctrine, and means 'doctrine of illusory transformation' as opposed to *pariṇāma-vāda* which holds that the transformation is real.

27. *Praṇava* means the mystic syllable *aum;* according to Śaṁkara, *mahā-vākya* is *tat tvam asi* etc. (that thou art) see above p. 42. Here Caitanya puts forward his own idea.
28. The word used is *Īśvarer-mūrti: mūrti* usually means image, but according to Pāṇini (*murtau ghanaḥ* II. iii. 77) it may mean a congealed or coagulated transformation.
29. See above foot-note 27.
30. *Vitaṇḍā* means a dispute in which attempts are made to discover the faults in the opponent's thesis without any attempt to offer any alternative thesis; *chala* means a rejoinder in which the statement of the opponent is wilfully misrepresented; *nigraha* means to make such statements as are not understood by the opponent even though thrice repeated. As we have suggested (above p. 131) Caitanya was probably quite adept in these forms of debate.
31. Without need or necessity there cannot be any desire from which only an action can begin.
32. That is adumbrated by Śaṁkara.
33. See above foot-note 19.
34. This verse is from Sūta's reply to Śaunaka's question as to why did Śuka the great sage, who was free from all bondage read the *Bh.P.*
35. The verse from the *Bh.P.* translated above describes the sages as *ātmārāma,* which we have translated as 'free from all worldly desires'. Actually this word is very difficult to translate and means: 'one who plays with himself.' See *Gita* III, 17. Prabhavananda and Isherwood has translated it as one who 'has found delight and satisfaction and peace in the Atman.'
36. *Preman,* according to the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas,* is one of the supreme objects of attainment; *prema-dāna* means 'to give *prema* as gift to somebody', which is a great act of grace.
37. 'Hari's name, Hari's name, Hari's name; there is no other means of salvation in the Kali age, no other, indeed none.'
38. 'I take refuge with Śrī-Caitanya, the ocean of mercy; the incarnation of the One Primeval Man, now embodied (born) to preach other-worldliness and devotion to himself (Kṛṣṇa). My (fickle) mind (like) a bee (hops from flower to flower); may it settle forever on the lotus-like feet of Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya, who has appeared to revitalize his (Kṛṣṇa's) own *bhakti-yoga,* which in course of ages had withered away.'

CHAPTER XV

Appendix

CONVERSION OF VĀSUDEVA SĀRVABHAUMA

The conversion of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma is an important event in the history of Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism. Sārvabhauma's scholarship had won him recognition in Bengal, Mithilā and Orissa. In Orissa he enjoyed royal patronage and his son Janeśvar became a high officer in the Orissa army and got the title or rank of Vāhinīpati Mahāpātra. It is not difficult to imagine the effect which Sārvabhauma's conversion by an unknown young monk must have produced in Orissa.

We have given full translation of the debate between Sārvabhauma and Caitanya as given in the *CC* (II. vi. 114-189). It is now necessary to discuss the historicity of this passage which has been doubted by some modern scholars.

Firstly, as usual, different biographies give different accounts. This has been fully discussed by B. B. Majumdar (*MC.* pp. 344-54) who thinks that Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj has been wise not to follow Vṛndāvan-dās. Sri Radha Govinda Nath in his notes (*CC.* II. part 1 pp. 199-202) has tried to reconcile, or at least to account for, the difference between the *C.Bh.* and the *CC.* and his arguments seem to be quite plausible. Majumdar has shown Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj's indebtedness to Kavi-karṇapūra, but the fact is that, the latter made a hideous mistake in making Sārvabhauma speak like an ardent *vaiṣṇava* even at his first meeting with Caitanya (*Caitanya-candrodaya*). For, to make a man who had just written a commentary on the *Advaita-makaranda* to say: *'kevala nirviśeṣatve Śūnya-vad-āvasaraḥ prasajyeta'* (Act. VI) is taking too great a liberty even making all allowances to a creative dramatist. It is not difficult to see the reason which prompted Kṛṣṇa-dās not to mention Kavi-karṇapūra as one of his authorities, though he has quoted from the latter; Kavi-karṇapūra apparently was not considered a reliable authority,—a good poet, but a careless chronicler.

Now, for the date of Sārvabhauma's conversion, several scholars believe that the meeting took place much later (about 1512) on the following grounds:

(a) When Sārvabhauma commented on the *Advaita-makaranda* he must have been a monist; therefore at that time he could not have been converted by Caitanya.

(b) Sārvabhauma dedicated his commentary to Pratāparudra, and in his dedication mentions that Pratāparudra has defeated Kṛṣṇadevarāya, the Emperor of Vijayanagara.

(c) D. C. Bhattacharya held that Kṛṣṇadevarāya ascended the throne in 1510, so Pratāparudra could not have defeated him before, say the middle of the year; arguing from this, Bhattacharya concluded that Sārvabhauma's conversion could not have taken place before 1512.

(d) Caitanya arrived at Puri in the beginning of 1510, and according to the *CC* converted Sārvabhauma within 10 days. Therefore, Bhattacharya says that the *CC's* account must be wrong.

Now, there is a flaw in Bhattacharya's main assumption. Kṛṣṇadevarāya was crowned king in all probability on Agust 8, 1509. (R. C. Majumdar, Ed. *The History And Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 309). Therefore, there was time enough for Pratāparudra to inflict a defeat on Kṛṣṇadevarāya's army before Caitanya's arrival at Puri; and there is no evidence which forbids us to assume that Sārvabhauma had completed the commentary by the time he heard of the King's fresh victory and dedicated the work in advance of his return to Puri, which in any case was imminent, to thwart the Muslim invasion from Bengal.

Hence we think that Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj and other biographers are correct as to the time of conversion.

Kṛṣṇa-dās's description of the debate between Caitanya and Sārvabhauma seems to us to be based on a genuine historical tradition for the following reasons:—

(1) Kṛṣṇa-dās's statement is that, for seven days while Sārvabhauma lectured on Advaita-*vedānta*, Caitanya listened with absolute silence; this seems to us to be an authentic description.

Sārvabhauma was born in a family of *advaita* scholars. His father, Narahari Viśārada has been called *vedānta-vidyā-maya*. Sārvabhauma did even better; he was not only an *advaita* scholar, but is famous as the man who introduced *navya-nyāya* (neo-logic) in Bengal. When such a mature and accomplished scholar begins to interpret the first four aphorisms of the *Br.S.*, then it is quite possible that he will be intelligible to none but the most erudite. By this time Śaṁkara's doctrine had become extremely complicated due to the various interpretations by his followers, and criticisms by his opponents. Sārvabhauma was quite capable of interpreting Śaṁkara independently, and in doing so, refute the arguments not only of dualists but of other monists as well. Hence Caitanya's silence was natural.

Then Caitanya began to speak, and we have to consider whether the Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana were speaking through him as has been sometimes alleged. So we have to consider whether Caitanya's statements involved any abstruse metaphysical discussion; we do not think so.

Caitanya's statement shows that he knew the contemporary basic *vaiṣṇava* arguments against monism. It is evident that he knew of Śaṁkara's interpretation of *tat tvam asi*, but Śaṁkara's commentary was very widely read in those days, as has been

admitted by Jīva-Gosvāmin himself in the *TS* (27). The conception of three *śaktis* of Brahman, which forms the basis of Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism, was admittedly derived from the *VP*, and it would be stupid to argue that Caitanya had not read the *VP*, the *Bh.P.* or the *Gita*. There is a reference to the Upaniṣad (*apāṇipāda*...) and another to *Br.S.* (I. IV. 26). He has criticized Śaṁkara for using *lakṣaṇā*, but this defect in the Ācārya's interpretation was pointed out by Rāmānuja and must have been common knowledge in those days among educated *brāhmaṇas* with *vaiṣṇava* leaning. Thus the sum total of knowledge displayed is not so staggering, that it could not be possessed by a man who had been teaching in Navadvīpa for six to seven years.

There is a quotation from the *Caitanya-candrodaya* written long after Caitanya's death. Naturally Caitanya could not have repeated this verse, and it is equally natural to assume that Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj had the modicum of intelligence to realize this. Then why this anachronism? The reason seems to be that either Kṛṣṇa-dās and Kavi-karṇapūra based their accounts on the same tradition or Kṛṣṇa-dās was following Karṇapūra's account for the details, the former being more probable. At a certain point he felt that Kavi-karṇapūra's Sanskrit verse was more faithful to the tradition than his Bengali, and incorporated the former. It may be noted that Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj was essentially a Sanskrit writer. his earlier work being the *Govinda-līlāmṛta*, of 2588 verses, which according to B. B. Majumdar (*MC*, p. 293) is the longest *vaiṣṇava-kāvya*, in which the author has shown mastery over various and difficult metres. His other work is a commentary on the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*. Hence his eagerness to illustrate his work with Sanskrit verses is only natural. Altogether he has quoted 763 Sanskrit verses 1011 times (i.e. some verses have been quoted more than once) in the *CC*.

Then there was the 'dispute', in which Sārvabhauma took the help of *chala* etc., to establish his viewpoint but was vanquished by Caitanya. It will be observed that beyond merely mentioning this part of the affair in one verse, Kṛṣṇa-dās gives no description at all. Had he been drawing on his imagination, we might have possessed a realistic picture of a learned debate in those days.

Still the question has been posed whether it was possible for so inexperienced a scholar like Caitanya to trounce a veteran like Sārvabhauma? The answer is that, all the evidence we have unanimously state that he did. There is no reason to doubt that Sārvabhauma accepted Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism, as some of his devotional verses have been found. Caitanya was completely unknown in Orissa; soon he was to become very famous, for which there is ample independent Oriya evidence (*MC*. pp. 490-504). According to Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj and other biographers, his recognition came as a consequence of Sārvabhauma's conversion, and this seems to be the only rational solution.

The reader is referred to Sāradānanda's description of Rāma-Kṛṣṇa's dialogue with Pandit Śaśadhar Tarkacūḍāmaṇī, and the former's explanation of his upsurge of eloquence. (*LP*. II *Guru-bhāv*, *Uttar*. pp. 251-54). As for Sārvabhauma's manifestation of

hysterical emotionalism after being embraced by Caitanya, the reader may see what happened to Vivekānanda after Rāma-Kṛṣṇa touched him one day being unable to convince the former that Brahman is immanent in every object. (*LP*. II. *Ṭhākurer Divyabhāv o Narendranāth*, pp. 161-163). Sāradānanda has here quoted Vivekānanda and in this connection has stated (ibid, p. 164) that when Vivekānanda (then Narendra-nāth) related to him and to his cousin (later Svāmī Rāma-Kṛṣṇānanda), Rāma-Kṛṣṇa's supernatural powers, they came to believe in the miracles said to be performed by Caitanya, and Jesus which they had hitherto disbelieved. That evening, Vivekānanda, Sāradānanda and Rāma-Kṛṣṇānanda sat on a bench in the Hedua, and Vivekānanda sang a well-known song in praise of Caitanya and Nityānanda. (See also ibid, pp. 343; and 392-400).

It may be remembered that, at this period the fortune of the monists was at a low ebb. Jayatīrtha had dealt with them severely, to which they had not been able to offer any adequate reply. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, who re-established Advaita-*vedānta* to its former glory, was possibly yet to be born. Navadvīpa was a great centre of learning, and it can safely be assumed that the *vaiṣṇava* criticism of *advaita* doctrine was not unknown to the Navadvīpa *paṇḍitas*. Caitanya could have picked up the *vaiṣṇava* criticisms of Advaita-*vedānta* quite easily at Navadvīpa. Is it too difficult to presume that he had read Rāmānuja's *Vedārtha-saṁgraha,* or the *Śatadūṣaṇī* of Vedānta-deśika (1268-1369).

CHAPTER XVI

MADHYA-LĪLĀ (ii)

Travel in South-India

1

Caitanya's stay in Puri lasted for about two months. Possibly he arrived at Puri a few days before the *dola-yātrā,* which may have taken place by the middle of March (1510), and at the beginning of Vaiśākha of 1432 Śaka era (c. 15 April to 15 May, 1510) decided upon an extensive tour of South India.

He thanked his companions profusely and requested them to permit him to travel alone in search of his brother Viśvarūp. They were to stay at Puri till his return from Rāmeśvaram. The companions were convinced that the Master was going to South India to preach his faith; the apparent reason could not possibly be the real one because they knew that Viśvarūp was dead.[1]

They were all very depressed; Nityānanda wanted that either he, who knew the south, or one of them should accompany Caitanya. This request was politely but firmly rejected. Repeated requests from the four companions—Nityānanda, Jagadānanda, Mukunda, and Dāmodar Svarūp—could not move him. Then Nityānanda cleverly pointed out that he must have at least one companion to carry his extra cloth, *kaupīna* and a jug of water, for he was always engaged in prayer.[2] Secondly someone had to watch over even those insignificant articles when he was in a trance. As this was very true, Caitanya agreed to take with him a *brāhmaṇa* named Kṛṣṇa-dās[3] as his travelling companion.

Caitanya then went to Sārvabhauma and the latter had to give his consent[4] to the projected journey, but requested the Master to stay at his home for a few days before setting out. Then after about four days, Caitanya decided to start on his long journey without any further delay. So he went to the Jagannātha temple, paid his respects to the Lord of the World, and received as a token of godspeed, Jagannātha's garland offered him by the temple priest.

Then Caitanya left Puri proceeding along the sea coast by way of Ālālnāth. Sārvabhauma, by way of bidding farewell, requested

him to meet Rāmānanda-rāya, who was then staying near the Godavari. 'Rāmānanda is a *śūdra'*, Sārvabhauma said, 'but please do not ignore him on that account. Formerly, I failed to realize his great spiritual powers, and laughed at his *vaiṣṇava* attitude and philosophy. But now, thanks to you, I have realized the real import of Rāmānanda's doctrine. When you meet him you will realize his greatness.' Caitanya agreed to meet Rāmānanda and clasped Sārvabhauma in an embrace of farewell. Then as he left, Sārva-bhauma fell in a faint, but Caitanya without even glancing back started off on his long tour.

Nityānanda arranged to send Sārvabhauma back to his home, and he and other companions and Gopīnāth[5] came with him to Ālālnāth. There they stayed for the night. In the morning Caitanya left, followed by Kṛṣṇa-dās, while his companions rested there for a day, and then with heavy hearts returned to Puri.

Caitanya's journey now begun. He walked very fast, with the grace of a lion, and continuously recited:

Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa he
Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa he
Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa rakṣa mām[6]
Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa pāhi mām[7]
Rāma Rāghava Rāma Rāghava Rāma Rāghava rakṣa mām
Kṛṣṇa Keśava Kṛṣṇa Keśava Kṛnsna Keśava pāhi mām

When he came across anyone, he would request him: 'Please say, Hari! Hari!' And the strangers attracted by him used to repeat 'Hari! Hari!', and followed him for a distance. Then Caitanya embraced them in a gesture of farewell, and those people in a strange sensation of delight not only recited the name of Kṛṣṇa, but induced other villagers to do so. Thus the villages which the Master traversed became *vaiṣṇava*, and by the time he reached Rāmeśvaram the whole south had become *vaiṣṇava*.

This is what the devout Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj writes,[8] which is apparently a panegyric, but possibly not entirely so, for, as Br'itish scholar has observed: 'The truth these extravagant claims really seek to convey is that everywhere Chaitanya went crowds were deeply impressed by his evident devotion. Nowhere in the world are the common people so quick to render homage to religious sanctity as in India. Chaitanya combined with the traditional sanctity of the sannyāsī the powers of a gifted revivalist. The effect was tremendous. It is easy to believe that whole villages were stirred by the passionate intensity of his emotions, and while under the spell, joined enthusiastically in his devotions. But this is

very far from saying that these same villagers were changed from their various sectarian beliefs and practices into faithful Vaishṇavas of the Chaitanya cult.

'There were definite results from Chaitanya's travels, however, that were not ephemeral. His devotion did leave a permanent impress on the Vaishṇavism of the south land. It does not seem too much to say that his personal influence effected a general stimulation of Vaishṇava sects wherever he went. In the Kanarese country, for example, we find that he is credited with helping to bring in a Vaishṇava revival, the mendicant singers who popularised Krishna worship having received their inspiration, in part at least, from him. Another interesting piece of evidence points to definite influence in the Mārāṭhā country which links the famous Tukārāma with Chaitanya. Tukārāma, who was born more than a century after Chaitanya, refers in one of his *abhangs* (No. 80, p. 31, *The Poems of Tukārāma*, Vol. I, edited by J. Nelson Fraser; see also note on p. 404) to three Krishṇa-worshippers as his teachers. These men were Bābā Chaitanya, Keśava Chaitanya and Rāghava Chaitanya, and are referred to as followers of the Bengal saint. The fact that all three bear this name would seem to lend weight to the supposition that Chaitanya left behind him in the Maratha country an influence that did not die away.'[9]

2

In due course, Caitanya arrived at Rajahmundry on the Godavari; this was the capital of the province of Vidyānagara.

After finishing his bath in the Godavari, Caitanya engaged himself in *nāma-saṁkīrtana,* when Rāmānanda-rāya, the governor of the province, arrived there with a large retinue including *brāhmaṇas* versed in the Vedas. Rāmānanda finished his bath and performed all the necessary rites. Caitanya realized that this man must be Rāmānanda, whom Sārvabhauma had recommended; he was eager to meet him, still he waited, watching Rāmānanda. In the meantime the young handsome monk had caught Rāmānanda's attention, so he came and bowed at Caitanya's feet. Caitanya raised and embraced the Governor and asked him: 'Are you Rāya-Rāmānanda?' Rāmānanda said: 'I am indeed that vile slave of a *śūdra*'. At this Caitanya clasped him passionately and both fell down on the ground in an ecstasy of devotion, senseless with love, merely lisping 'Kṛṣṇa! Kṛṣṇa!'

The *brāhmaṇas* were shocked that such a noble looking *sannyāsin* should not only have embraced a *śūdra*, but be emotionally moved by the latter. To their relief, Caitanya checked himself, because

he too was aware of the effect of his action on strangers. So he made Rāmānanda sit by his side, and told him about Sārvabhauma's recommendation. Rāmānanda's elaborate reply shows that he was a true *vaiṣṇava*. However, it was ultimately decided that they would meet in the evening, and Caitanya left with a *brāhmaṇa*,[10] who had invited him to be his guest.

In the evening Rāmānanda with a single attendant came to Caitanya. They repaired to a secluded place and without wasting any time Caitanya asked: 'Say something about the ultimate goal according to the scriptures.' Rāmānanda replied: 'One can obtain devotion to Viṣṇu by performing his caste-duties properly. As the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (III. viii. 9) says:' Worship Viṣṇu, the Supreme Being, by performing the sacred duties of your caste; there is no other means of pleasing him.'

Caitanya: 'This is a superficial criterion; proceed further to the core of the problem'.[11]

Rāmānanda said: 'Dedication of (the fruit of) all action to Kṛṣṇa is the final goal, as has been said in the *Gītā* (IX. 27).

"Whatever your action,
Food or worship;
Whatever the gift
That you give to another;
Whatever you vow
To the work of the spirit:
O Son of Kunti,
Lay these also
as offerings before me."'

Caitanya again raised the same objection, and Rāmānanda said: 'Renouncing the caste duties is the limit which a man can attain. As has been said in the *Bhāgavata* (XI. xi. 32): "He too is one of the holiest of men, who knowing well the merits and pitfalls of such course, worships me by forsaking the Vedic rites and ceremonies due to his caste, though these too were ordained by me." Again it has been said in the *Gītā*, (XVIII. 66):

"Lay down all duties
In me, your refuge,
Fear no longer,
For I will save you
From sin and from bondage."'

Again Caitanya raised the same objection saying that all these were superficial doctrines, and Rāmānanda replied: 'Faith based on knowledge is the terminal value. As the *Gītā* (XVIII. 54) says:

"And he who dwells
United with Brahman,
Calm in mind,
Not grieving, not craving,
Regarding all men
With equal acceptance:
He loves me most dearly." '

Caitanya's objection was still the same and he again requested Rāmānanda to probe further into the mystery of human deliverance. Rāmānanda replied: 'Pure *bhakti* without a trace of knowledge is the omega of human attainment. As Brahmā says in the *Bhāgavata* (X. xiv. 3): "O Lord! He who does not make the slightest effort in knowing thee but simply listens to thy praises, and submits his body, speech, and mind to thy service, usually receives thy grace." '

But Caitanya persisted in his objection and Rāmānanda said: '*Bhakti* derived from *preman* (love) is the ultimate goal a human being can reach. As has been said: "O devoted one! the heart of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa melts even if worshipped without various *upacāra* but only with *preman*, just as food and drinks are enjoyable so long there is appetite. Seek in your heart passionate love for Kṛṣṇa, if indeed you can ever feel it; desire for Him alone is the price you have to pay for it,—a price which is dearer than the accumulated merits of ten million births." '

Still Caitanya was not satisfied with the answer and remarked as before, so Rāmānanda said: 'The acquisition of the attitude of the servant for the Lord (*dāsya-bhāva*) is the quintessence of love. As the *Bhāgavata* (IX. v. 16) says: "What remains to be obtained the servants of the Lord, the very sound of whose name makes people pure?" or as Yāmuna says: "O Lord! when shall I enjoy the bliss of thy perpetual servitude, and, serving thee constantly get rid of my mundane desires." '

Now Caitanya said: 'Yes this is true, but let us hear something more, beyond this'. Rāmānanda said: 'Devotion in the form of comradeship (*sakhya-bhāva*) is the ultimate within the reach of human being. As Śuka-deva said to Parikṣit in the *Bhāgavata* (X. xii. 11). "Thus did the Lord play with the fortunate cow-herds though He is the essence of blissful union with Brahman to the gnostics, the highest deity to His servants, and a mere boy to those enveloped in illusion." '

Caitanya said: 'Excellent, but please let us penetrate yet deeper'. Rāmānanda replied: 'Parents' love for the child is the highest goal of the devotee. As the *Bhāgavata* (X. viii. 46 and

X. ix. 20) says: 'O Sage! what pious deeds did Nanda and fortunate Yaśodā perform (so that the former got Kṛṣṇa as his son) and that Kṛṣṇa sucked her breast. The favour which that *gopī* (Yaśodā) received from Hari was denied to Śiva, Brahmā and even to Lakṣmī who always clings to Him." '

Caitanya said: 'This indeed is excellent, but please proceed further.' Rāmānanda replied: 'Passion as for a lover (*kāntā-prema*) is the highest form of devotion that a man can attain. As Śuka-deva said in the *Bhāgavata* (X. xlvii. 60, X. xxxii. 2): 'During the *rāsa* festival, the fair maidens of Vraja attained their heartfelt desire when He embraced them; not to speak of other women, not even did Lakṣmī, who is always attached to Him, did ever receive such favour, not did the *apsarases*. There before their very eyes appeared Kṛṣṇa, in yellow garments and flower garlands, with a smiling lotus-like countenance, verily like Cupid himself." '

Rāmānanda continued: "Various are the means of attaining Kṛṣṇa, and degrees of such attainment. But whichever means (*bhāva*) is natural to a particular man is best for him. The gradation of means are apparent when judged in isolation from an absolute point of view."

Rāmānanda then went on explaining the basic theory of *rasa* which was later developed by the Gaudīya-*vaiṣṇavas*. He stated that the five *rasas*, or devotional sentiments manifest themselves in an ascending order of values.[12] Śrī-Kṛṣṇa can be attained only through *preman*, to which indeed He submits, as stated in the *Bh. P.* (X. lxxxii. 45) where Śrī-Kṛṣṇa says: "O *gopīs*! Blessed am I that you love me so; it will make you immortal." Kṛṣṇa is eternally under the obligation to have the same sentiment for His devotee which the latter has for Him. For He promised in the *Gītā* (IV.11):

"Whatever wish men bring me in worship,
That wish I grant them.
Whatever path men travel
Is my path:
No matter where they walk
It leads to me."

'But as His love for His devotees can never reach the corresponding level of the latter's *preman* for Him, He always remains under obligation to them. As Kṛṣṇa Himself tells the *gopīs* in the *Bhāgavata* (X.xxxii.22): "Dear *gopīs!* you have proved your devotion to me by breaking the ties of home; my love for you can never match your intensity of feeling even if I were to try for an aeon; may your devotion to me be its own reward." Verily, Śrī-

Kṛṣṇa is the ultimate in beauty and grace, but even His charm appear to increase when he is in company with the ladies of Vraja. As the *Bhāgavata* (X. xxxiii. 7) describes: "As the brilliance of the emerald becomes more intense when it is set in a gold-stone, so radiates the effulgence of Kṛṣṇa when girt round by the belles of Vraja." '

On hearing this Caitanya said: 'This must be the extreme limit of devotion, but please tell me if there is anything beyond it.' Rāmānanda was awed by this question and replied: 'I never thought that any man could lead an inquiry beyond this point. Of all kinds of *preman*, that of Rādhā's (for Kṛṣṇa) has been lauded as the highest in all the scriptures. As the *Padmapurāṇa* (*Uttara*. 45) says: "Rādhā and (even) her *kuṇḍa* (that is, anything relating to her) is equally dear to Viṣṇu; of all the *gopīs* she is Viṣṇu's dearest darling." Similarly says the *Bhāgavata* (X. xxx. 28): "Verily indeed did that woman fervently adore Kṛṣṇa; for, infatuated, with her, He has taken her to a lonely place, forsaking us all.[13]" '

Caitanya said: 'Speak on; it is a delight to hear you. But since Kṛṣṇa eloped with Rādhā for fear of the *gopīs*, His love for Rādhā could not have been very deep. But if you can prove that for Rādhā's sake Kṛṣṇa openly forsook the other *gopīs*, then only I shall be convinced that He loved her passionately.'

Rāmānanda replied: 'Listen then to the glory of *preman; there* is no other example of love like Rādhā's in the universe. Kṛṣṇa left the *rāsa*-dance and wept as he began to search for Rādhā. As has been said in the *Gīta-Govinda* (III. i. 2), 'Kṛṣṇa's passion for Rādhā was the shackle which tied him to desires; meditating on Rādhā he left the beautiful girls of Vraja. Wounded by Cupid's arrows, Kṛṣṇa began to search for Rādhā, and then, with a penitent heart, sat lamenting in the bower on the bank of the Yamunā." An analysis of these two verses will yield a well of nectar. A billion of *gopīs* could not relieve Him of his passion for Rādhā, so exalted is her qualities.'

Caitanya said: 'I have now learnt the extreme limit of the mysteries of *rasa* (devotional sentiments). Now I would like to hear the essence (*svarūpa*) of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and the categories of *rasa* and *preman*.'

With great humility, Rāmānanda proceeded to explain these obstruse principles to the Master.[14] When he finished, Caitanya said: 'Yes, this is true, but please proceed further.' Rāmānanda now confessed his inability to do so and said: 'Human intellect cannot go beyond this point. There is indeed the *prema-vilāsa-vivarta*[15]

but would you like to listen to it?' So saying Rāmānanda began to sing a Vrajabuli song of his own composition and Caitanya prevented him from speaking by clasping his mouth, and said: "Yes; this indeed is the ultimate goal; and thanks to you I have now realized it. But how to attain it.' Again Rāmānanda began to explain the process of mystique realization, and ended by saying: 'To attain Kṛṣṇa, one should adopt the attitude of a *gopī*, and continuously meditate on the dalliance of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. One must give up the ideas of magnificence associated with Kṛṣṇa, and submit to the *gopīs*, otherwise, one can never attain Him, as indeed even Lakṣmī failed to do, though She worshipped Him.'

Hearing this Caitanya embraced Rāmānanda, and they shed tears of emotion. Thus they spent the night.

In the morning, as Rāmānanda left, he begged the Master to stay for at least about ten days. Caitanya replied that he was so pleased with Rāmānanda's discourse, that, he would like to enjoy his company for the rest of his life. 'Come to Puri', said Caitanya, 'there you and I will happily spend our days in talking about Kṛṣṇa.'

In the evening when Rāmānanda came Caitanya asked: 'What is knowledge?'

Rāmānanda: 'There is no knowledge except devotion to Kṛṣṇa.'

Caitanya: 'Who is the most illustrious among men?'

Rāmānanda: 'The man famous as a devotee of Kṛṣṇa's *preman*.'

Caitanya: 'Which is the most valuable possession?'

Rāmānanda: '*Preman* for Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.'

Caitanya: 'Which is the worst misery?'

Rāmānanda. 'Separation from Kṛṣṇa's devotees.'

Caitanya: 'Who is the freed soul?'

Rāmānanda: 'He who has Kṛṣṇa-*prema*'.

Caitanya: 'What song is natural to a man?'

Rāmānanda: 'Those which describe the secrets of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa's dalliance.'

Caitanya: 'Which is the most beneficent (course of conduct).'

Rāmānanda: 'Association with Kṛṣṇa's devotees.'

Caitanya: 'What should we constantly remind ourselves of?'

Rāmānanda: 'Name, qualities and incidents from Kṛṣṇa's life.'

Caitanya: 'What is the highest object of meditation?'

Rāmānanda: 'Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.'

Caitanya: 'Where should a renunciant live?'

Rāmānanda: 'In Vṛndāvana, the Vraja-*bhūmi* where the *rāsa-līlā* is eternal.'

Caitanya: 'Which is the sweetest melody?'

Rāmānanda: 'Those which are tuned to the love-songs of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.'

Caitanya: 'What is the foremost object of worship?'

Rāmānanda: 'The coupled name Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa.'

Caitanya: 'What are the respective destinations of those who desire liberation *(mukti)* and those who desire devotion (*bhakti*)?'

Rāmānanda: 'Those who desire liberation become like inert objects, while those who desire devotion, assume celestial bodies. The stupid crow pecks at the bitter ash-fruit (*nimba*) while the gourmet of a cuckoo feeds on the fragrant mango-blossoms of *preman*. The ill-fated scholar is doomed to taste arid knowledge, while the lucky ones (the devotees) sip the nectar of Kṛṣṇa's *preman*.'

Thus they spent the night talking of Kṛṣṇa in an ecstasy of fervour.

In the morning, Rāmānanda left to attend to his business and returned in the evening. He recited the first verse of the *Bhāgavata* and told Caitanya: 'I am worried, because when I first met you, you looked like a *sannyāsin;* now you appear to me as a dark complexioned young cowherd (Kṛṣṇa) enveloped in emanations from a golden coloured deity (Rādhā), revealing the flute which you hold to your lips, and the shifting glances of your lotus-like eyes. And as I see I marvel; please tell me what is this?' Caitanya tried to divert him saying, that a great devotee sees Kṛṣṇa everywhere. Rāmānanda said: 'Please do not try to put me off. You are indeed Kṛṣṇa garbed in Rādhā's emotional fervour born to taste your own delightful *rasa*. That is your secret: to taste your own *preman;* incidentally you have filled the world with *preman*. You have come to deliver me; how is it that you should delude me.'

Then the Master smiled and revealed to Rāmānanda his true Self, in which were blended Kṛṣṇa, the sovereign of *rasas* and Rādhikā, the supreme devotional sentiment (*mahā-bhāva*). In sheer rapture, Rāmānanda fell down in a faint. The Master brought him round to his senses by touching him, and he was perplexed to see the *sannyāsin* sitting there. Then the Master embraced Rāmānanda and assured him, that none but he had perceived this form. He said: 'You know my essential categories, *līlā* and *rasa*, hence I have

revealed this form to you. My complexion is not fair, but it appears fair due to its contact with the body of Rādhā, who touches none but Kṛṣṇa. I concentrate my mind on her emotional feelings, and thus I taste the delicious sweetness of Kṛṣṇa. I have nothing to hide from you; even if I did, your love for me would reveal everything. But please keep this secret to yourself; otherwise people will laugh at my mad antic. I am a madcap, you are another, hence we are of a pair.'

Thus the Master spent ten happy days with Rāmānanda discussing the various aspects of Kṛṣṇa, and the mysteries of *Vraja-līlā*. Then his time for departure came, and he bade Rāmānanda farewell. His last instruction to Rāmānanda was to give up worldly life and retire to Puri, where the Master promised to join him within a short time. It was more than a year before they met again.

3

Starting from Rajahmundry, Caitanya traversed the entire south till he reached Rāmeśvaram. From there, he proceeded north through Kerala till he reached Gujarat. As stated above, Govinda has given a fairly coherent account of the route followed by the Master, but as his authority is dubious, we are not taking his account into consideration. Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj frankly admits that, he is unable to arrange systematically the names of the places visited by the Master, hence he is only noting down the names of the places[16] —evidently the important ones—visited by the Master.

From Rajahmundry, Caitanya's first halt was at the Gautamī-Gaṁgā (a branch of the Godavari) then he went to the following places: Mallikārjuna (70 miles from Kurnool, on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇā); Ahobala (Kurnool Dt. famous for the Nṛsiṁha temple); Siddhivaṭa, (or Siddhavaṭa. 10 miles east of Cudappa); Skanda-kṣetra-*tīrtha* (or Kumārasvāmī, in Tuluva, 26 miles from Hospet on the river Kumāradhārā); Vṛddha-Kāśī (modern Vṛddhācalam in South Arcot District on the Vellar river); Tripadī (Tirupati, North Arcot Dt., 72 miles north-west of Madras); Trimalla (Tirumalaya, Tanjore Dt., 6 miles west of Tirupati); Veṁkaṭacalam (Venkata-giri, near Tirupati); Pānā-Narasiṁha (Maṁgala-giri seven miles from Bezwada Kṛṣṇa Dt.); Śiva-Kāñcī (Conjeeveram, Chingleput Dt., 46 miles south-east of Madras city); Viṣṇu-Kāñcī (five miles from Conjeeveram); Trikāl-hasti-sthān (22 miles north-east of Tirupati on the river Suvarna-mukhi); Pakṣī-tīrtha (between Conjeeveram and Mahabalipuram) Vṛddha-kola-tīrtha (1 mile from Mahabalipuram); Vedāvana (20 miles north-east of Tanjore); Kumbhakarṇa (Kumbakonam, Tan-

jore Dt.)[17]; Śivakṣetra (Śiva temple in Tanjore city); Pāpanāśana (8 miles south-west of Kumbakonam; there is another place of the same name in the Tinnevelly Dt., 29 miles from Palam-kota, either of the place or both may have been visited); Śrī-Raṁga-Kṣetra (Srirangam, 2 miles north of Trichinopoly); Ṛṣabha Parvata (Palni Hills, Madura Dt.); Śrī-Śaila (Palni Hills, in Madura northern part of the Malaya mountain); Kāma-koṣṭhī-purī (possibly the famous Kāma-koṭi monastery in Conjeeveram); Dakṣiṇa-Mathurā (Madura, or Cumbaconam); Durvesana (on the sea, seven miles from Ramnad); Mahendra-*śaila*, (the whole range of hills from Orissa to the Dt. of Madura including the Eastern Ghats was known by the name of Mahendra-*parvata*); Setubandha-Rāmeśvaram; Dhanuskoṭi; River Tāmraparṇī (locally called Tambaravari or the united stream of Tambaravari and the Cittar in Tinnevelly which rise in the Agasti-kuta mountain); Naya-Tripadī (Nava-Tripadi 20 miles to the east of Tinnevelly); Ciḍayatālā (probably Cidambaram which is also known as Cittambalam); Tila-Kāñcī, probably modern Tela-Kasi, north-east of Tinnevely; Gajendra-mokṣa (20 miles to the west of Tinnevelly); Pānāgaḍi (30 miles south-west of Trivandrum); Cāmatāpura (may be Camatkāra-pura, a former name of Vadnagar, Gujarat); Śrī-Vaikuṇṭha (on the Tamraparni, 20 miles south-east of Tinnevelly); Malaya-parvata (Western Ghats, Malabar coast); Kanyākumārī; Āmalī-talā; (may be present Amadpur, five miles from Nausari, Gujarat, formerly known as Āmrapura and dĀmbapataka); Mallāra (Malabar); Tamāla-Kārttika (probably Tāmracūḍa-krora, the full name of Korura, the capital of Cera or Kerala, in the Coimbatore Dt. situated near Cranganore on the left bank of the river Amarāvatī a tributary of the Kaveri); Vātāpāṇi (Bhūtapaṇḍi, in former Travancore State, Tobal Taluk, north of Nagarcoil); Ananta-Padmanābha (Trivandrum); Payoṣṇī (river Purti in Travancore); Siṁhārī (Śṛṁgerī, the famous monastery Mysore); Matsya-tīrtha (a small lake situated on the hill 8 or 10 miles to the west of Tirupanankundram not far from the river Tungabhadra in Mysore State); Udupa-Kṛṣṇa (Udipī the famous Madhva centre); Phalgu-tīrtha, Tritakūpa (Tricur, Kerala); Viśālā (Ujjayini); Pancāpsarā-*tīrtha* (either at Gokarna or near Phalguna or Anantapura, 56 miles to the south-east of Bellary, Madras); Gokarṇa (N. Kanara Dt.); Sūrpāraka (Sopara, in Thana Dt. 26 miles north of Bombay); Kolāpura (in Maharashtra State, formerly a Native State), Lāṁgā-Gaṇeśa (may be Langarpeth between Miraj and Kurdowadi on the South Central Railway); Pāṇḍupur (Pandharpur, famous tīrtha, 38 miles west of Sholapur, Maharashtra); Kṛṣṇa-veṇṇā (the united stream of the Kṛṣṇā and the Veṇā rivers; Vilvamaṁgala, the author of the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* lived on the wes-

tern bank of this river); Tāpī (river Tapti); Māhismatī (identification is difficult; see H. C. Ray Chaudhury: *Political History of Ancient India,* (1950), p. 145, f.n. 2; but *CC*. evidently means Mahesvarapura on the river Narmada); Dhanutīrtha (usually identified with the famous Dhanuskoti near Ramesvaram; but here it may be Dhandhuka in Gujarat, Ahmedabad Dt. or Dhanu, a small station in Gujarat next to Bulsar, Western Railway); Nirvindhyā (river near Ujjain); Ṛṣyamukha-*parvata* (a mountain situated eight miles from Anagandi on the bank of the Tungabhadra); Daṇḍakāraṇya (a large forest area roughly between Bundelkhand and the Kṛṣṇā); Pampā-*sarovara* (means a lake, but here it indicates the tributary of the river Tungabhadra which rises from the Ṛṣyamukha mountain; it is in the Bellary Dt. north of the Hampi town); Pañcavatī (near Nasik, Maharashtra); Nāsik (Maharashtra); Tryamvaka (20 miles from Nasik, where the Kumbhamela is held); Brahma-*giri* (probably the same as Brahma-*tīrtha* on the Godavari); Kusavarta (source of the Godavari near Nasik); Vidyānagara (on the Godavari; Rāmānanda Rāya's province).[18]

4

We may now relate some of the events which took place during this travel, as recorded by Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj.

In Siddhivaṭa, Caitanya was the guest of a *brāhmaṇa* who constantly recited the name of Rāma. Leaving Siddhivaṭa, Caitanya visited a few places and then returned there; now he found the same *brāhmaṇa* repeating the name of Kṛṣṇa. The *brāhmaṇa* confessed that since his childhood he had been reciting *Rāma-nāma*, but seeing Caitanya, his lifelong habit had changed; 'Therefore', said the *brāhmaṇa*, 'you must be the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa', and fell at his feet.

In a village near Vṛddha-Kāśī, Caitanya held discussions with the followers of the different systems of orthodox philosophy, and convinced them of their mistake; thereupon they turned *vaiṣṇava*. Possibly these debates were held elsewhere also, but in this village Caitanya met Buddhists, for the first time in his life. He refuted all the arguments put forward by the Buddhists, and discomfited them in public to their chagrin. Then the Buddhists hatched a plot, and offered Caitanya some impure food. But suddenly a large bird intervened and picked the plate with its beak and almost immediately dropped it from a height scattering the dirty rice on the Buddhists; yet more serious was that as the plate fell it struck the neck of the Buddhist *ācārya* with such force that he fainted. His disciples then raised loud cries of lamentation, and prayed to Caitanya to restore

their preceptor. Caitanya asked them all to recite the name of Kṛṣṇa, and as they performed *Kṛṣṇa-saṁkīrtana,* the Buddhist teacher came to his senses with the name of Hari on his lips; this transformation astonished everybody, but in the meantime Caitanya had vanished from there.[19]

In Srirangam, Caitanya lived for four months (*cāturmāsya*) as the guest of one Veṁkaṭa-*bhaṭṭa.* He was a Śrī-*vaiṣṇava,* but became a disciple of Caitanya. Gopāla-*bhatta,* one of the six Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins*, and a teacher of Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj was probably the son of this Veṁkaṭa-*bhaṭṭa.*

Veṁkaṭa-*bhaṭṭa* was a great devotee of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa, and this pleased Caitanya. Yet one day he began to impress on his host the superiority of Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs*. Veṁkaṭa-*bhaṭṭa* began to argue quoting scriptures, but being puzzled begged Caitanya to explain their contradictory statements. Caitanya first established the superiority of Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs* over Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa, but then seeing his host crestfallen, assured him that there was no difference between Kṛṣṇa and Nārāyaṇa or between Lakṣmī and the *gopīs;* and that it was sinful to distinguish one from another. 'The same Lord', Caitanya said, 'assumes various forms, according to the meditation of His devotees.'

In Srirangam there was a *brāhmaṇa* who recited the *Gītā* daily, but did not understand it, being ignorant of Sanskrit. One day, this peculiar devotee was pointed out to Caitanya, as the former was reciting the text within the temple precinct. As the *brāhmaṇa* appeared to be thrilled with emotion, Caitanya asked him as to what possible enjoyment he could derive by this mere utterance of the scripture. The *brāhmaṇa* said: 'I am an uneducated man, and do not understand the meaning of the words I read; still I read the *Gītā*, because my preceptor has ordered me to do so. I feel an ineffable joy as I visualize the Śyāmala-sundara (Kṛṣṇa) seated on Arjuna's chariot, whip in hand holding the reins, and instructing Arjuna. I see Him so long as I read the *Gītā,* so I continue reading it.' Caitanya embraced him saying: 'You have realized the real sense of the Gītā; you alone are fit to read it.' The *brāhmaṇa* then fell at his feet and declared that Caitanya was Kṛṣṇa. Devotion had purified the *brāhmaṇa's* mind, so he realized the Master's real nature, and the Master also instructed him. The *brāhmaṇa* became his devotee.

At the Ṛṣabha mountain, Caitanya met Paramānanda Purī, a disciple of Mādhavendra, and a brother disciple of Caitanya's preceptor, Īśvar Purī. Paramānanda promised to come and stay with him at Puri.

At Madura, Caitanya's host was an eccentric *brāhmaṇa*. When it was past noon, Caitanya asked him: 'Why, Sir! you have not cooked yet.' The *brāhmaṇa* replied: 'Master! I live in the forest, ordinary food is not available here. Lakṣmaṇa will soon bring wild fruits, vegetables and rice, and then only Sītā will cook.' Caitanya was very happy to see his method of devotion. However, his meditation over, the *brāhmaṇa* cooked the usual food, and Caitanya had his meal quite late in the afternoon, but the *brāhmaṇa* observed fast. In reply to Caitanya's eager solicitations, the *brāhmaṇa* replied: 'Life has no charm for me; I want to enter fire and end this miserable life. Sītā is the Mother of the world, She indeed is Mahālakṣmī, and Rāvaṇa has touched her. Since I heard this, I have decided to destroy myself, because even my acute misery is not killing me.' Caitanya assured him saying: 'Why do you think thus; analyze the facts critically. The Lord's consort Sītā is made of *cit* (intelligence) and *ānanda* (bliss), and ordinary eyes cannot see, not to speak of touching Her. When Rāvaṇa came Sītā disappeared, and Rāvaṇa stole an illusory (*māyā*) Sītā. The scriptures declare that non-material objects are beyond perception. So have faith in me, and never again harbour such unworthy thoughts in your mind.' This comforted the *brāhmaṇa;* he took his food, and gave up his suicidal ideas.

Then Caitanya left the *brāhmaṇa* and in course of his travel came to Ramesvaram where he heard the recitation of the *Kūrma-purāṇa* in an assembly of *brāhmaṇas*. It was related that, when Sītā saw Rāvaṇa, she took shelter with Agni (Fire-god) who concealed her and taking her to Pārvatī (consort of Śiva), replaced an illusory Sītā, whom Rāvaṇa stole. Later, when Rāma subjected Her to an ordeal by fire, Agni restored the real Sītā. This story reminded Caitanya of his *brāhmaṇa* host devoted to Rāma, and he got a copy of the Purāṇa taken out; but in order to impress the *brāhmaṇa*, he begged for the old manuscript and hastened to Madura. There he showed the *brāhmaṇa*, the verses from the Purāṇa. The latter's joy can be easily imagined.

Somewhere in Malabar Caitanya came across a group of people whom Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj calls *Bhaṭṭa-māri*, who apparently were a sect of left-handed *tāntrikas*. They deluded Caitanya's servant, Kṛṣṇa-dās, with woman and money, and the foolish man went over to them. So Caitanya went to the *Bhaṭṭa-māris*, and demanded the immediate return of his servant. In reply the *Bhaṭṭa-māris* with weapons in hand attempted to attack him, but the weapons fell from their hands, and they themselves were injured. In the confusion

that followed, Caitnaya caught hold of Kṛṣṇa-dās's hair and forcibly dragged him away, and immediately left the place.

In a place on the river Payasvinī, Caitanya found the *Brahma-saṁhitā,* and had it copied. It became an important text of the Gauḍīya-*vaisnavas.*

At Śṛṅgerī, Caitanya visited Śaṁkara's famous monastery, but does not seem to have entered into any discussion with the monks there. Then he went to Udipī, and here he had a long discussion with the Mādhvas and criticized their doctrine. The Mādhva *ācārya* admitted the validity of Caitanya's arguments and conclusions, but confessed his inability to change the creed preached by the founder of their sect.

At Pandharpur, Caitanya was enchanted with Viṭṭhalanātha; he prolonged his stay there, and spent his time in singing and dancing in the temple of Viṭṭhala. Here by chance he came across Raṁga Purī, a disciple of Mādhavendra. They soon became very friendly, and one day Raṁga Purī told Caitanya, that he had once gone to Navadvīpa wih Mādhvendra; there he had eaten the curry of plantain-flower (*mocā*) cooked by Jagannāth Miśra's wife, who was certainly the best cook in the world. Her son on becoming a *sannyāsin* had adopted the name of Śaṁkarāraṇya, and had died at Pandharpur. Caitanya then informed him that he was the son of Jagannāth.

Somewhere on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa-Veṇā, Caitanya found the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* and had it copied. Later Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj was to write a commentary on the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta.*

When Caitanya returned to Vidyānagara, Rāmānanda came to meet him; after they had recovered from the exuberant joy of reunion, Caitanya gave Rāmānanda, the two manuscripts (*Brahma-saṁhitā* and *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*) and said that these two texts supported Rāmānanda's conclusions. Rāmānanda had the manuscripts copied.

Rāmānanda informed Caitanya that, according to the latter's instructions, he had applied to the King, and now he had been permitted to go to Puri. But as he would be accompanied with a large retinue, consisting of troops, horses, and elephants, he suggested that the Master should precede him, by at least ten days journey.

Caitanya agreed to this sensible plan, and left for Puri. He halted at Ālālnāth, (about 15 miles from Puri), where he had left his friends on his outward journey, and sent his servant Kṛṣṇa-dās to convey to them the happy tidings of his return after about two years. In a body they rushed to meet the Master.

1. This statement (*CC*, II. vii. 12) has led to many types of speculation, but the explanation seems to be simple. According to monastic regulations, a monk has to return to his home for a few days, ten years after his initiation. As Viśvarūp had not returned, he was taken to be dead.
2. Caitanya constantly uttered the name of Kṛṣṇa, and counted the number of times he had done so, which is obligatory in *nāma-japa;* thus both the hands were always engaged, and even if he could carry his extra *kaupīna* and cloth on his shoulder, it was impossible for him to carry the water-jug, without which no *sannyāsin* travels.
3. According to the *Kaḍacā* of Govinda-dās, Kṛṣṇa-dās (not to be confused with the author of the CC) journeyed with Caitanya for a short distance and was then required to return, so that Govinda was Caitanya's sole companion on this tour. As we have stated above, Govinda-das's *Kaḍacā* is the most controversial book in Caitanya literature; hence we are not referring to it here. A good summary of this book will be found in D. C. Sen: *Chaitanya and His Age*, pp. 191-216.
4. Caitanya was not in the habit of saying, 'I shall do this', or, 'I have decided to do this.' He always said: 'Please permit me to do this', and this request was understood to be his firm resolution, from which it was next to impossible to budge him.
5. Sārvabhauma had sent Gopīnāth to his house to fetch four *kaupīnas* and *prasād-ānna* for Caitanya.
6. 'Protect me'.
7. 'Protect me'.
8. *CC*. II. vii. 91-105.
9. M. T. Kennedy: *The Chaitanya Movement* (1925), pp. 41-2, and f.n. p. 42.
10. Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj has made it quite clear that Caitanya always stayed with *brāhmaṇas* during his travel. CC. II. vii. 129-30.
11. It is impossible to translate Kṛṣṇa-dās's immortal sentence: '*Prabhu kahe eho bāhya āge kaha sār*', but this is the sense which he wanted to convey. Literally it means 'the Lord said, "This is extraneous, (proceed) further (and) say (the) fundamental.' '*Eha bahya*' etc. has been beautifully rendered by Kavi-karṇapūra in his *Mahā-kāvya* as *bāhy-āti-bāhyam bata bāhyam etat*.
12. That is, *śānta-rasa* is inherent in *dāsya* and attains perfection in the latter; similarly, *śānta* and *dāsya* are in *sakhya*, all these three in *vātsalya*, and all the four in *madhura-rasa*. Rāmānanda cited as an example the five elements, namely ether, air, fire, water and earth, each of which and their combination subsist in the next element.
13. Rādhā is not mentioned in the *Bh.P.* This chapter of the *Bh.P.* describes that during the *rāsa-līlā*, Kṛṣṇa selected one particular *gopī*, who is not named, and retired with her to a secluded place. The Gaudīya-*vaiṣṇavas* identify this *gopī* with Rādhā. The verse begins as: '*anayārādhito nūnam*' which means, 'verily by her He has been worshipped,' and does mention Rādhā.
14. Rāmānanda's discourse (CC. II. viii. 105-148) cannot be made intelligible without elaborate explanatory notes; hence those are omitted here. For these details see below Chapter XXV. An abridged translation of this part has been given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar: *Chaitanya's Life and Teachings*, (3rd ed. 1932), pp. 95-97. Here Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj has interpolated verses from the works of Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins*, and also from his own *Govinda-līlāmṛta;* see appendix to this chapter.
15. *Prema-vilāsa-vivarta* is a technical term. It indicates a type of love which is capable of inducing simultaneously the joy of union and pang of separation; with complete oblivion to selves and surroundings; and imbuing the lovers with a sense of identity to each other. This is beyond the reach of human being and is only possible for Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Caitanya alone enjoyed this blissful state; hence as we shall see he now stopped Rāmānanda from proceeding further. The Sanskrit rendering of this Vraja-buli song by Kavi-Karṇapūra is given below in Chapter XXIV.
16. *CC*. II. ix. 4.

17. The verse is *Kumbhakarṇa-kapāler dekhi sarovar* (*CC*. II. ix. 72). We think *kapāl* here is a corruption of Tamil *koyil*, 'a temple'. The verse would then mean that, 'having seen the lake inside the temple at Kumbakonam'; a big tank is found in every big South Indian temple.
18. Most of the places mentioned in *CC* (II. ix) have been identified by Sri Radha Govinda Nath in the appendix volume of his edition of the CC, N. L. De: *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* (1927), and Sir Jadunath Sarkar op. cit. pp. 122-27. For Brahmagiri which we have identified with Brahmatīrtha see K. D. Bajpai: *The Geographical Encyclopaedia of Ancient and Medieval India* (Varanasi, 1967).
19. This incident from the CC is usually cited to prove its author's credulity. Undoubtedly it needs faith to believe in such miracles; however, the general belief that, Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj has said that the plate sundered the head of the Buddhist teacher, does not appear to be correct. Of course he has said that 'as the plate fell in a curve (the Buddhist's) *māthā kāṭā gelā* which usually means 'the head was struck off', but also may mean 'the head suffered an injury.' That the second meaning is intended is proved by his next statement, namely, 'the *ācārya* fell *murcchita*' that is senseless (not dead). CC. II. ix. 49-50.

Appendix to Chapter XVI.

DIALOGUE WITH RĀMĀNANDA

We have practically translated the major part of the dialogue between Caitanya and Rāmānanda, as given in the *CC.*, for this represents the quintessence of Gaudīya-vaiṣṇavism, but is the most criticized part of the *CC.* (See S. K. De: Early *History of the Vaisnava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, pp. 93-4, f.n.). Another ground of adverse criticism has been that Kṛṣṇa-dās Kaviraj plagiarized from Kavi-karṇapūra without acknowledgment. (*MC.* pp. 321-29). We shall take up the second point first.

Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj has gratefully acknowledged his debt to three earlier biographers, namely Dāmodar Svarūp, Murāri Gupta, and Vṛndāvan-dās of which the first is not available. Though he has quoted several verses from Kavi-karṇapūra, he has nowhere mentioned the latter as his authority. But B.B. Majumdar has shown that in this particular scene (Caitanya and Rāmānanda's dialogue) several verses in the *CC* have striking similarity with Kavi-karṇapūra's works; hence he has concluded that, though Kṛṣṇa-dās states positively at the end of this chapter (*CC.* II. viii. 261) that he has based it on Dāmodar Svarūp's *Kaḍacā*, in fact he got most of his materials from Kavi-karṇapūra's two works. We, however, do not think that a positive conclusion on this point is possible before Dāmodar Svarūp's *Kaḍacā* is discovered for both Kavi-karṇapūra and Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj may have borrowed from this *Kaḍacā* in which case their similarity would be natural. Therefore, till the *Kaḍacā* is discovered, the old *vaiṣṇava* must get the benefit of doubt.

It is also evident that Kṛṣṇa-dās's account of this is much more elaborate than Kavi-karṇapūra's. Where did he get these details, if he merely relied on the latter? Here the criticism is on a slightly different ground.

We have stated above that the *CC* has presented here the fundamentals of the Gaudīya-vaiṣṇavism. Now the problem is: did Rāmānanda really unfold this doctrinaire metaphysics to Caitanya? Later the Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins*, and Kṛṣṇa-das Kavirāj too, elaborated this basic dogma into an elaborate and intricate philosophical system. Is it not possible, therefore, it has been argued, that, Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj should have made Rāmānanda say and Caitanya approve the philosophy of the Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins*? This certainly is plausible, particularly when one remembers that Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj has punctuated this dialogue with quotations from the works of Rūpa-, Sanātana- and Jiva-*gosvāmins* and his own work, (all written after Caitanya's death) and a verse from the *Brahma-saṁhitā*, which according to Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj was discovered by Caitanya later during this very tour! This indeed is incongruous.

As pointed out above, Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj was a writer in Sanskrit, and to this probably he owes the habit of profusely quoting

Sanskrit verses, which may not be inapt, but are often uncalled for. He started writing the *CC.* at an advanced age, and by the time he finished it, he was partly infirm, as he admits in one of the most moving passages of the *CC.* (III. xx. 84-85). It has been our impression that this old man interposed a Sanskrit verse wherever he felt that it expressed his ideas more clearly than his Bengali, of which he was probably not quite sure, and which was not free from defects as Dr. S. K. De has shown (op. cit. pp. 52-3). He never bothered about the verses he was quoting, nor the interpretation which modern scholars would put upon the date of their composition. Hence we think that the interpolation of the verses, composed at a date after the incident took place, proves nothing beyond the peculiar mental make up of the author, which his contemporaries understood quite well.

It is also worthy of consideration that, if Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj had really intended to pass off certain verses as genuinely spoken by Rāmānanda or Caitanya, he could have easily composed a few, and today there would be no means of checking him. It is likely, therefore, that, he quoted those verses from later writers, which he knew were imbued with the idea derived from the report of this famous dialogue, or from texts like the *Bh.P.* which either proved the point under discussion or may have been actually quoted in Dāmodar Svarūp's *Kaḍacā*, which to a man like Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj was as good as gospel. We must not forget, however, that both Caitanya and Rāmānanda were capable of quoting from the *Bh.P.* and the *Gīta-Govinda.*

There is no doubt that this dialogue took place; many years later when Rāmānanda was at Puri, Caitanya sent Pradyumna Brahmacārī to the latter for instructions, and Pradyumna requested Rāmānanda to repeat to him what he had told the Master at Vidyānagara. (CC. III. v. 56-7.) The problem is whether Rāmānanda is correctly reported by Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj. Here we have to remind ourselves of the following fact:

In Caitanya's debate with Sārvabhauma, the former had merely criticised monism, and emphasized the *śakti* aspect of Brahman which were quite common knowledge in those days. There were further discussion between Caitanya and Sārvabhauma, but we do not know what passed between them. Then when Caitanya was leaving for the south, Sārvabhauma advised him to meet Rāmānanda, and recalled that formerly he (Sārvabhauma) used to laugh at the latter's *vaiṣṇava* theories, but admitted that after coming into contact with Caitanya, he had realized the implications of Rāmānanda's ontology (*CC.* II. vii. 65-66). This shows that Sārvabhauma had realized that Caitanya's doctrine approximated Rāmānanda's philosophy, but as the former had not yet been able to evolve a systematic doctrine, Rāmānanda's mature knowledge and erudition might be helpful to him. Hence his advice to Caitanya.

Caitanya met Rāmānanda, and here instead of arguing, he continued to ask for more information. To those who believe in mysticism, this would indicate that Caitanya had realized all the steps that Rāmānanda was describing, but had not yet discovered their intellec-

tual framework, or wanted to find out a man who had worked it out independently. On the other hand, Rāmānanda had read about these mystique processes, and though he was not without some form of realization, he was far from reaching the summit, which Caitanya had climbed with a bound so to say.

The most important part of this dialogue is that, here for the first time we come across the philosophical background of Rādhā cult and *rasa* theory, the twin pillars of Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism. And what is more significant is that it is not Caitanya who expounds the doctrine but Rāmānanda who has been described as a *sahaja-vaiṣṇava* by Kavi-karṇapūra (*Caitanya-candrodaya,* VII. p. 159); and Rāmānanda practised certain peculiar customs which were absolutely forbidden to all known *vaiṣṇava* sects including the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas*. It is quite possible therefore, that the philosophical back-ground of Rādhā and the fundamentals of *rasa* theory had been developed by these *sahaja vaiṣṇavas*. An orthodox scholar like Sārvabhauma would never bother to listen to such a doctrine, however interesting they might be.

It is significant that a few years later when Caitanya refuted monism at Varanasi, he used almost the same arguments, which he had advanced with Sārvabhauma, but added a new element to his doctrine, namely, that *preman* was the fifth *purusārtha* which permits men to enjoy the *madhura-rasa* of Kṛṣṇa, and *preman* is capable of controlling Kṛṣṇa (*CC*. I. vii. 137-138). The development may be traced to Rāmānanda.

We think therefore, that Kṛṣṇa-das Kavirāj's description of the dialogue, is as faithful a report of the famous incident as was possible under the circumstances. Its value for a proper understanding of Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism is inestimable.

The story of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa's amours, and the *hlādinī-śakti* of Brahman and the identification of *hlādinī-śakti* with Rādhā, seems to have been Rāmānanda's contribution to Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism.

CHAPTER XVII

MADHYA-LĪLĀ (iii)

Caitanya Settles at Puri

1

On his return, Caitanya found to his dismay that he had become a celebrity in Orissa. During his absence, King Pratāparudra had come to learn of Sārvabhauma's conversion, which made him eager to meet the young monk. So he had called Sārvabhauma, and requested him to arrange a meeting with the Master. Sārvabhauma promised to do so, after the Master's return, and in the meantime, requested the King to select a suitable residence for Caitanya. Pratāparudra mentioned Kāśī Miśra's house near Jagannātha temple.

Kāśī Misra was the chief priest of Jagannātha temple. He gladly arranged for Caitanya's accommodation in a house which is now known as *Gambhīrā*. It was in a small room at *Gambhīrā*, that Caitanya spent his life at Puri.

Caitanya was happy to learn of the arrangement; when Kāśī Miśra came to welcome him, he embraced the former and appeared to him as the four-armed Viṣṇu.

It seems that Caitanya spent the first day either at his old residence, or at Sārvabhauma's house and then shifted to *Gambhīrā*. There Sārvabhauma brought a sizable crowd of men, all eager to see the Master. Then Bhavānanda-rāya, Rāmānanda's father, with his four sons, came to meet Caitanya. Of Bhavānanda's sons, Vāṇīnāth was detailed to look after the Master's needs.

Caitanya's first act was to get rid of his servant Kṛṣṇa-dās. He recalled to his followers the incident with the *Bhaṭṭa-māris*, and firmly announced that he would not be responsible for such a man, and that Kṛṣṇa-dās must go away. So his companions sent Kṛṣṇa-dās to Navadvīpa to inform Śacī of her son's safe arrival. Accordingly, Kṛṣṇa-dās went to Navadvīpa and conveyed the news of the Master's safe return to Śacī, Advait and others. They were exceedingly happy and the followers decided on a visit to Puri.

In the meantime, Caitanya's personal group began to increase in number. First came Paramānanda Purī, whom Caitanya had met at the Ṛṣabha mountain. Paramānanda was Caitanya's senior, so he was received with great repect, and adequate arrangements

were made for his stay. Then came Caitanya's old Navadvīpa friend, Dāmodar Svarūp, an accomplished scholar. He was soon followed by Govinda. Govinda was Īśvar Purī's servant; at the time of his death, Īśvar Purī had asked Govinda to go and serve Caitanya. Īśvar Purī's other servant Kāśīsvar was to join later, but Govinda remained the Master's personal servant; there were two other servants, named, Rāmāi and Nandāi. Besides these, there was Caitanya's favourite musician Hari-dās, the *kīrtan* singer; later this man committed suicide when Caitanya dismissed him from his entourage.

Sārvabhauma came to Caitanya with the request that he should allow the King to come and see him. But Caitanya flatly refused. 'I am a *sannyāsin*', said he; 'the sight of a king or a woman is to us as harmful as swallowing poison.' When Sārvabhauma repeated his request, Caitanya threatened to leave Puri if he were again asked to see the King. This silenced Sārvabhauma.

Within a short time, Pratāparudra came to Puri and sent for Sārvabhauma. The latter submitted to the King what had passed between him and the Master. In bitter disappointment, Pratāparudra said, 'The Master has redeemed even scoundrels like Jagāi and Mādhāi; probably he has decided to shower his grace on everyone, with one exception: myself.' But he was determined to see the Master, and told Sārvabhauma, that if he failed to see him, he would give up even his throne.

This set Sārvabhauma thinking and he suggested that Pratāparudra could easily meet Caitanya during the chariot festival three weeks later when he was sure to dance in front of the chariot. This happy solution pleased the King.

2

A large group from Navadvīpa now arrived in Puri to meet the Master, but also in time to see the chariot festival. This visit to Puri became a part of their life, and they, men, women, and children continued to visit the Master every year. It was during one such annual pilgrimage that, Kavi-karṇapūra, then a child, was petted by the Master and given the title, by which he is now known. Except that Caitanya paid a brief visit to Bengal, this gathering of friends was to remain his only link with his native land. Both he and his friends eagerly looked forward to this annual reunion.

There was no difficulty in finding accommodation for the large number of guests; but Hari-dās refused to stay with them. He had also refused to enter Caitanya's residence. This was due to his ex-

treme humility; he felt that since he was born as a Muslim, his contact would pollute his Hindu friends. As he could not be persuaded to change his mind, a separate residence was fixed for him in a garden near the *Gambhīrā*. There Caitanya used to go and meet Hari-dās everyday. Hari-dās never went to the Jagannātha temple either, and for the same reason.

In the meantime, Pratāparudra sent a message to Sārvabhauma, reiterating his determination to meet Caitanya; the King threatened that if he were disappointed, he would give up his kingdom, and die as a beggar. Sārvabhauma showed this letter to Caitanya's followers, and a deputation headed by Nityānanda waited upon him. But they failed to prevail upon the Master. Then came Rāmānanda the finished courtier; Caitanya now suggested that he should meet Pratāparudra's son, and that would amount to meeting the King, for, the scripture says: *ātmā vai jāyate putraḥ* (one is born as one's son). So the Prince came and Caitanya embraced him.

The chariot festival was now imminent, so Caitanya took upon himself the task of cleaning the Guṇḍicā-*bāḍī*.[1] Reluctantly the officials agreed to his proposal, for they felt that this menial's job was unbecoming to king's protégé. But they were mistaken. Under Caitanya's magic touch, the cleaning of the Guṇḍicā-*bāḍī* became a festival of devotion. After cleaning the Gṇḍicā-*bāḍī*, Caitanya and his followers spent some time gaily swimming in an artificial lake, after which the entire congregation sat down to a memorable feast.

On the chariot-festival day (*ratha-yātrā*) people assembled very early in the morning and thronged the temple and the route leading to the Guṇḍicā-*bāḍī*. Caitanya and his companions got up even when it was still dark and finishing their morning ablutions hastened to the temple, eager not to miss any part of the ceremony. They saw Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadrā taken out of the temple and gently pulled over cotton pillows to the waiting chariots, as Gajapati Pratāparudra with a gold broom swept the way in front of the Lord of the world.

Then amidst roars of '*Maṇimā*',[2] the Deities were placed on their chariots and men began to pull at the ropes. Caitanya garlanded his companions and anointed their foreheads with sandal-wood paste. He then divided them into four groups, each with six singers and two *mṛdaṁga* players. Dāmodar Svarūp, Śrīvās, Mukunda and Govinda Ghoṣ led the music in each of the groups, while Advait, Nityānanda, Hari-dās and Vakreśvar joined the respective groups as dancers. They were joined by three other Bengali groups, from Kulingram, Santipur and Srikhanda. Of these seven groups, four sang in front of the chariot, two on two sides, while one group made up the rear.

And thus they proceeded dancing and singing along with the slow moving chariots and the faithful rent the sky with shouts of 'Hari! Hari' and '*Jaya Jagannātha*'. Suddenly Jagannātha's chariot stopped as if to *witness* the *kīrtāna*, and as they sang and danced with redoubled fervour, Pratāparudra saw with wonder that Caitanya seemed to be present in each of the seven groups at the same time; indeed the members of the groups were under the same impression, but they could not perceive, as the King did, the situation in the other groups.

After participating in the *saṁkīrtana* for some time, Caitanya decided to dance. He then collected together the seven groups and selected ten from them—Śrīvās, Rāmāi, Raghu, Govinda, Mukunda, Hari-dās, Govindānanda, Mādhav, and Govinda—to join him, while the rest were to encircle them and sing. Then Caitanya paid his deep reverence to Jagannātha by prostrating before Him, and recited various Sanskrit verses in His praise. Then he began to dance.

This, as we have said, was Caitanya's main attraction and may be said to be the only form of his public appeal. While dancing in ecstacy, he became a personification of devotion, if at all such a phenomenon is possible; and from the available records it appears that, during these dances he was able to communicate mystically with the masses, who, temporarily at least, became enveloped in an aura of spirituality; it had lasting effect on many.

His companions encircled him in three concentric rings, while Pratāparudra himself with his officers formed an outer cordon to save them from being trampled by the surging crowd, infatuated by the sight of this devotional dance.

Caitanya recited a few Sanskrit verses of which the last is said to be his own composition, probably on the spot. Addressing Jagannātha he exclaimed:

n=āhaṁ vipro na ca narapatir n=āpi vaiśyo na śūdro
n=āhaṁ varṇī na ca gṛha-patir na vanastho yatir vā
kintu prodyan-nikhila-paramānanda-purṇ-āmṛt-ābdhe
gopī-bhartuḥ pada-kamalayor dāsa-dās-ānudāsaḥ[3]

The description of Caitanya's performance shows that, it was not an ordinary or regular dance to which we are accustomed, nor was it a ritualistic dance of any known tradition. Caitanya, as we have stated, possessed a remarkable physique; tall, powerful and lithesome. With a sudden roar he leaped and skipped about with such a superhuman swiftness that his body appeared like a moving circle and at times he fell heavily on the ground, so Nityānanda stood by him to save him from fall. His devotional fervour was manifested in vari-

ous physiological changes such as extreme pallor and shivering, muscular rigidity, copious flow of tears, profuse perspiration, running of the nose and foaming at the mouth.

Then he slightly calmed down and began to recite a verse: 'Here is my husband, the same man, who made love to me when I was a maiden; these lovely Caitra-nights are the same; this breeze too blows as of yore from the *kadamba* grove laden with the fragrance of *mālatī* blooms; and I too am the same. But my heart yearns for our amours on the Revā's banks under the *vetasī* tree.'[4]

Once as Caitanya was about to fall down, Pratāparudra caught him in his arms as Nityānanda had also become *distrait* through emotion. Immediately Caitanya recovered his senses, and seeing the King, began to lament that he had been touched by a worldly soul. The King became apprehensive, but Sārvabhauma assured him, that the Master had been very pleased with him for his having performed the service of Jagannātha's menial that morning.

In the meantime the chariot had struck, so Caitanya circumambulated it and going behind, began to push it with his head, and immediately the ponderous vehicle began to move as if it had sprung into life. And thus it came to Balagaṇḍi, where the chariot was halted for some time and food offered to Jagannātha. This was also time for a little rest after the morning's exertion, so Caitanya with his companions entered an adjoining garden.

With eyes closed, Caitanya lay on the ground possibly in deep meditation, and there came Pratāparudra. As instructed by Sārvabhauma, he had discarded his glittering attire and put on the dress of an humble *vaiṣṇava*. With the mute consent of all the *vaiṣṇavas* there, Pratāparudra began to massage Caitanya's legs, as a profession of humility, and began to recite softly from the *Bhāgavata*.[5] Slowly the Master responded, and after listening to a few verses eagerly exhorted the King to continue. Then as Pratāparudra read: 'They alone are really generous, who solace the distressed with thy words, and bring fresh life to them; thy words are praised by the seers, for they destroy all sins; blessed is the moment that thy words reach one's ears.[6]'

'You are generous, you are generous indeed', exclaimed Caitanya, and embraced the King, and asked: 'Who are you, my dear friend, who have been so kind as to pour in my ears the nectar of Kṛṣṇa's *līlā*?' The King replied: 'I hope you will make me the servant of your servant.' Then Caitanya appeared to the King as the six-armed Viṣṇu. The King prostrated at Caitanya's feet, and

was allowed to depart after being enjoined not to divulge what he had seen.

Caitanya and his friends had their meal which consisted of the offerings made to Jagannātha.[7] Then the time came for drawing Jagannātha's chariot again, but this time it could not be moved; even huge elephants, goaded by the *māhouts* could not move it an inch. Then Caitanya came, had the elephants removed, and as before, pushed the chariot from behind with his head and immediately it moved with effortless ease. Shouts of '*Jaya Jagannātha*' were now heard mixed with shouts of '*Jaya Gauracandra*', '*Jaya-Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya!*'

Thus Jagannātha reached the Guṇḍicā-*bāḍī* and was properly enthroned. In the evening Caitanya danced again at the time of *ārati*. Actually for the eight days that Jagannātha spent at Guṇḍicā-*bāḍi*, Caitanya used to dance there every evening during the *ārati*. In the mornings also, after ablutions, he used to come and perform *saṁkīrtana* there. Then the interlude was spent in swimming gayly with his friends in the Indradyumna lake; there like small urchins they used to throw water at each other, and even the venerable Sārvabhauma and Advait forgot their age and Rāmānanda his dignity under the Master's spell, and joined the frolic.

Then Jagannātha returned to the main temple and normal life was resumed. Caitanya was at the temple when the doors were opened early in the morning; he sang, danced, and recited verses in praise of Jagannātha till the first *bhoga*[8] was served. Then he left the temple and went to meet Hari-dās, who being a Muslim would not come to Caitanya's house. From Hari-dās's house he returned home and engaged himself in *nāma-saṁkīrtana*. The pilgrims from Bengal stayed at Puri for four months, and during this period Advait came and worshipped Caitanya every morning. In return Caitanya also worshiped Advait saying '*Yo'si so'si namo'stu te*'.[9]

Then came the *Janmāṣṭamī* festival. This time Caitanya had as his companions during the dance, Pratāparudra, Kāśī Miśra, Sārvabhauma and an official named Tulasī. During *Janmāṣṭamī*, it was customary to act like a milkman (*gopa*) and as Caitanya danced, Advait remarked that the Master would really look like a milkman, if he could play with the stick. Nothing daunted, Caitanya picked up one, and played with it expertly much to the amusement of the onlookers, and Nityānanda also joined him. Similarly, he and his companions played the role of monkeys on the *Vijayā-daśamī* day.[10]

Four months were now over, and the time came for the pilgrims to depart. Caitanya drew aside Nityānanda and gave him certain instructions, but no one else knew what passed between them.[11] Advait was requested to diffuse Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* (devotion to Kṛṣṇa) among all strata of the society, irrespective of caste; indeed he was enjoined by the Master not to exclude even a *caṇḍāla* from the benefit of his instructions. Nityānanda was told to propagate the doctrine of *prema--bhakti* (loving devotion) throughout Bengal, and for this purpose Rām-dās, Gadādhar and a few others were detailed to assist him. Śrīvās was charged to deliver some clothes and Jagannātha's *mahāprasāda* to Śacī. Caitanya told him: 'Prostrate before my mother and ask her forgiveness on my behalf. Instead of serving her, I have become a monk; thus I have failed in my duty to her. I have acted like a mad man, but a mother does not find fault with her mad son. I am at Puri according to her instructions, but I shall go and see her from time to time. Actually in my subtle body, I go and see her every day. Remind her, that on the last *vijayā-daśamī* day she cooked several vegetables which I liked, and as she offered it to the deity, she began to weep thinking of my fondness for them. I went and ate everything. When her eyes cleared, she could not understand as to who had eaten the food. She thought that possibly some stray animal had eaten it or possibly she had not offered any food at all. So she went out and cooked again. Tell her this incident to make her believe in what I say.'

Caitanya then called the pilgrims individually and spoke to them personal words of comfort, and embraced them as they left. Only Gadādhar, Paramānanda Purī, Jagadānanda, Dāmodar Svarūp, and Dāmodar Paṇḍit, besides the two servants remained with him at Puri.

1. Guṇḍicā-*bāḍī* is the place where Jagannātha is carried in the chariot and stays for one week.
2. *Maṇimā* in Oriya means 'Lord' and is equivalent to 'Your Majesty'. Only Jagannātha and the King are addressed as *Maṇimā*. Here it refers to Jagannātha.
3. 'I am not a *brāhmana*, nor a king (*kṣatriya*) neither a *vaiśya*, nor a *śūdra*; I am not a *brahmacārin*, nor a householder, nor a *vānaprastha*, nor a *sannyāsin*; I am the slave of the slave of the slave of the lotus feet of the Lord of the *gopīs* (Kṛṣṇa), who is the essence of the overflowing ocean of nectar, the universal bliss.'
4. This is the well-known verse from the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, (v. 1) and begins '*yah kaumāra-harah*'.
5. *Bh.P.* X. xxxi; in this chapter the *gopīs* pray for the return of Kṛṣṇa, who had suddenly disappeared from the *rāsa-maṇḍala*.
6. *Bh.P.* X. xxxi. 9.
7. Here Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj (CC. II. xiv. 24-32) gives a long list of delicacies which are quite interesting.
8. *Bhoga* means the food offered to the deity. Jagannātha is offered *bhoga* several times a day. *Upala-bhoga*, which Caitanya attended, is the earliest *bhoga* of the day.

9. 'Whoever you may be, I bow to you'. Peculiarly enough this is a part of a *mantra* for worshipping Śiva. The complete *mantra* is as follows:
    Rādhe Kṛṣṇa Rame Viṣṇo Sīte Rama Śive Śiva;
    Yo'si sā si namo nityaṁ yo'si so' si namo'stute.
   This shows Caitanya's non-sectarian attitude.
10. This festival celebrates Rāmachandra and his monkey troops defeat of Rāvaṇa and his army.
11. From the *CC* (II. xv. 38-9, and II. xvii. 58) it appears that Caitanya had at least two confidential talks with Nityānanda. It may be guessed that the Master was giving his ideas about the organization of the sect, which may have been the reason for Nityānanda's return to Puri next year against Caitanya's wishes. (*CC*, II. xvi. 13). Possibly he wanted further instructions which he received. (II. xvi. 18) Similarly Rāma-Kṛṣṇa used to give private instruction to Vivekānanda at the Kasipur garden house regarding the future organization. LP II. *Thakurer Divyabhāv o Narendranāth*, p. 279.

CHAPTER XVIII

MADHYA-LĪLĀ (iv)

Journey to Bengal and Vṛndāvana.

1

Caitanya had a longing for Vṛndāvana; he wanted to go there from Gaya, but, ultimately decided to return to Bengal. After he became a monk, his desire was to settle at Vṛndāvana, but in deference to his mother's wish, he settled at Puri. Now the desire to go to Vṛndāvana, the Vraja-*bhūmi,* once more took hold of him. But the news made Pratāparudra uneasy; he called Sārvabhauma and Rāmānanda and asked them to see to it that the Master did not leave Puri.

So Sārvabhauma and Rāmānanda took counsel together and requested Caitanya to see the chariot festival and stay on till autumn (Kārttika). In the month of Kārttika, they represented that, now upper India would be very cold, hence it would be preferable to go after the *dolayātrā* (end of winter and beginning of summer). Thus they raised one objection after another, and Caitanya elected to follow their wishes.

In the meantime, a large party of pilgrims from Bengal again came to Puri, and they spent four happy months with the Master. Next year also they came and after their departure, Caitanya requested Sārvabhauma and Rāmānanda to permit him to go to Bengal to see his mother. His idea was to go to Bengal first, and then proceed to Vṛndāvana. Sārvabhauma and Rāmānanda saw the futility of preventing him any more, but suggested that he should spend the rainy season at Puri, and set on his journey on the *vijayā-daśamī* day. Caitanya heartily agreed.

On the appointed day, Caitanya left Puri followed by an admiring crowd. With difficulty he managed to persuade his Oriya followers to return home, and with a few of his select companions proceeded to Cuttack. Here Pratāparudra came and prostrated himself at the Master's feet and received his blessings. Since their memorable meeting, Caitanya met the king, apparently without any reservation, and the King felt so greatly beholden to him that Caitanya later came to be known as the 'saviour of Pratāparudra' (*Pratāparudra-saṁtrātā*). But Caitanya never went out of his way to meet the King,

nor did he ever meddle in political affairs. Actually, as we shall see later, he refused to intervene on behalf of Rāmānanda's brother, when the latter was punished by the King for misfeasance.

Pratāparudra made elaborate arrangements for the Master's comfortable journey through his kingdom. In due course, Caitanya reached the Orissa-Bengal frontier. The Muslim official of Bengal fell under the charm of the Master's personality, and made adequate arrangements to ferry him across the river which formed the boundary between the two kingdoms. The same boat carried Caitanya and his companions to Pānihāṭi (near Calcutta).

It is difficult to trace the route followed by Caitanya in Bengal, for the testimonies are as copious as they are conflicting. It is certain, however, that he did not visit Navadvīpa, but came up to Santipur, and stayed with Advaitācārya for some time. There came Śacī, and this was the last time that she was to see her son. Caitanya also went to Ramkeli, now a village, about 18 miles to the south-east of Malda in the Rajshahi District. This was the family seat of two high officials, known as *Sākar Mallik* and *Dabīr Khās*, who later became famous as Sanātana Gosvāmin and Rūpa Gosvāmin, and established the school of Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇava* philosophy at Vṛndāvana.

At Ramkeli, the Master attracted such a vast crowd, that the news of his activities reached the Sultān, Husain Shāh. He called one of his Hindu officials, named Keśav Khān, and asked him for details about Caitanya and his activities. Keśav tried to minimize the Master's importance, lest the Sultān should persecute him; the Sultān, however, was not deceived, and gave orders that Caitanya was not to be disturbed in any manner.

But the Hindu officials were still apprehensive; they felt that the Sultān might be induced to change his favourable opinion about the Master at any moment; hence it would not be politic for him to stay so near the capital. When Caitanya came to learn of their misgivings, he said that his mission in life was to preach the doctrine of *bhakti* to everyone, irrespective of caste or creed; if the Sultān wanted to see him, he was prepared to go. He refused to move from Ramkeli in fear of persecution, and his bold attitude put heart into his followers.

But, when the time came to leave for Vṛndāvana, the crowd was so great, and so persistently did they follow him, that Caitanya gave up the idea of proceeding to the cherished land, more particularly when Sanātan pointed out that it would be unseemly to go to Vṛndāvana with a host of followers. So the Master retraced his

steps towards Puri. Possibly he again visited Santipur, in which case, this was the last meeting of mother and son. From there, he came by easy stages to Panihati and then to Varāhanagar (Baranagar, Calcutta) and stayed, where the *Śrī-pāṭa* established by Śrīmat Svāmī Rām-dās Bābājī now stands.

2

The biographies do not give any idea as to how long Caitanya stayed in Bengal. But it could not have been for less than at least two months. As he had started on his outward journey on the *vijayā-daśamī* day, it may be assumed that he returned to Puri before the summer had set in. At the request of his companions, he stayed at Puri for the next four months till the rains were over, and left Puri in autumn. His companions managed to attach to him as attendant a *brāhmaṇa* named Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya. He was to carry the Master's meagre belongings, collect eatables and cook; for, Caitanya never ate anything cooked by a *non--brāhmaṇa.*[1]

Instead of taking the main route from Orissa to Upper India, Caitanya followed an unfrequented path across the Jharkhand forest. The forest route was lonely as Caitanya had wished for, and lovely too, but also dangerous. Many a times they came across ferocious beasts, sometimes herds of them, but while the faint hearted Balabhadra trembled, the Master, always in ecstasy, passed the animals oblivious of any danger. One day they found a tiger lying on the road. Caitanya, as usual in an ecstatic mood, did not see the tiger and stumbled against it. As was his habit on such occasions, he exclaimed 'Kṛṣṇa! Kṛṣṇa!' and the tiger got up, and then the tiger began to dance saying 'Kṛṣṇa! Kṛṣṇa!'. Under slightly different circumstances, a herd of elephants began to dance exclaiming 'Kṛṣṇa! Kṛṣṇa!' a few days later. Then one day tigers and deer began to dance saying Kṛṣṇa! Kṛṣṇa'[2] The Master also came across some aboriginals and they too were redeemed.

In course of time they reached Varanasi (Benares). There, as Caitanya was taking his bath at the Maṇikarṇikā Ghāṭ, he met Tapan Miśra. Tapan Miśra was a *brāhmaṇa* and formerly a resident of East Bengal. When Caitanya as Nimāi Paṇḍit had gone to East Bengal with his students, Tapan came to him and asked for certain clarifications regarding some religious problem. Nimāi, it is said, cleared all his doubts, and asked him to settle at Varanasi. Hence Tapan was there.

At Tapan's request, Caitanya accepted his hospitality and on his way to the former's house, visited Viśveśvara temple and Vindumādhava. At Tapan's house, his friend Candraśekhar came and at

their earnest request, Caitanya decided to halt for a few days at Varaṇasi. Candraśekhar was also an old friend, so it was decided that, the Master would stay with Candreśekhar and have his meals with Tapan.[3]

Then, as probably since the days of Śaṁkara, Varanasi was the stronghold of the monists. Prakāśānanda Sarasvatī was the chief dialectician of the school of monism there, and when someone mentioned Caitanya to him, he abused the Master in no uncertain terms. A Marathi *brāhmaṇa*, who had become attached to Caitanya, reported this to the latter. But Caitanya ignored the insinuations and also tactfully refused the Marathi *brāhmaṇa's* invitation to a meal Caitanya humourously observed that, he had come to Varanasi to sell his *bhāvakālī* (emotionalism) but found that there were no buyers; but as the load was too heavy to be carried back, he was prepared to sell it at a nominal price. Next morning, after a stay of ten days, he left Varanasi for Mathura.

On his way, Caitanya halted at Allahabad for three days, and from there he went on to Mathura, staying overnight wherever necessary. At Mathura he straightaway went to the Viśrām-ghat and in an excess of devotional fervour began to sing and dance. Here a *brāhmaṇa* joined him; soon a small crowd gathered and the priest of the Keśava temple garlanded him, convinced like the crowd that the handsome young monk was a great man come to Mathura to liberate them.

Caitanya also was convinced that the *brāhmaṇa* was a devotee of a high order, so on regaining normality, he took him aside and asked him for his antecedents. The *brāhmaṇa* replied that, he was a disciple of Mādhavendra Purī. As Mādhavendra was the preceptor of Īśvar Purī, Caitanya's preceptor, he prostrated himself at the *brāhmaṇa's* feet to the latter's great consternation. Then Caitanya informed the *brāhmaṇa* of their spiritual relation, and the poor man danced in joy. When Caitanya learnt that Mādhavendra had accepted the *brāhmaṇa's* invitation to have a meal at his house, he proposed that, he too should do the same. To this the *brāhmaṇa* protested, pointing out that he was a *Sanauḍiā brāhmaṇa*, from whom *sannyāsins* do not accept food, so that Caitanya would be criticized for breaking this taboo. But Caitanya insisted on following Mādhavendra's tradition and had his meals at the *brāhmaṇas'* house.[4] The *brāhmaṇa* then showed him round Mathura and then they proceeded to Vṛndāvana.

On his way to Vṛndāvana, Caitanya fell into trances several times; he rather danced than walked from Mathura to Vṛndāvana.

Even Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj, instead of describing his emotions, contents himself by stating, that it was hundred times more intense than what it was at Puri.

Caitanya's most important act in Vṛndāvana was discovery of the Rādhā-*kuṇḍa*. He then went to Govardhana, but was unwilling to climb the hillock.[5] So he was in a dilemma, for he was extremely anxious to see the image of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa located in the temple on the top of the hillock. As he was deliberating over this problem at night, some one informed the residents of Govardhana, that the Turks were coming to plunder them that very night. As such raids were quite common, the villagers left their homes the same night taking the image of Gopāla with them to a village called Gāṭhuli. Next morning, Caitanya heard of this unexpected development, and saw Gopāla at Gāṭhuli.

Caitanya stayed at Vṛndāvana for several days, and then returned to Mathura. At first he stayed with the *Sanauḍiā brāhmaṇa*, but the growing number of visitors forced him to shift to Akrur-ghāṭ. From there he sometimes visited Vṛndāvana, where he performed *nāma-saṃkīrtana* up to midday. At this time, a Rajput, called Kṛṣṇa-dās, left his home and family and joined the Master's entourage.

A rumour spread that, Kṛṣṇa was again showing himself at nights in the Jumna (Kālidaha) dancing on the hood of the snake Kāliya. When this strange appearance was reported to Caitanya by eye-witnesses he smiled and said: "Everything is possible'. For three nights people saw Kṛṣṇa, and reported their experience to Caitanya. One day, the temptation to see Kṛṣṇa proved too strong for Balabhadra, and he begged the Master's permission to go and see Kṛṣṇa at night. In reply the Master first applied an admonishing slap and then said: 'Don't be a fool. Why should Kṛṣṇa appear in this Kali-age? Self-deluded idiots are making all this noise; don't be mad; stay where you are, and wait till tomorrow.' Next morning when people came, Caitanya asked: 'You must have been coming after having seen Kṛṣṇa'. Their apologetic reply was that the fishermen were fishing at night with lamps, and had been mistaken for dancing Kṛṣṇa.

Thus Caitanya passed his days happily at Mathura and Vṛndāvana; one day sitting on the Akrur-ghāṭ he began to think that this was the place where Akrura met Kṛṣṇa; on this spot the people of Vraja did get a glimpse of Goloka heaven; and suddenly he jumped into the river. Kṛṣṇa-dās began to shout; Balabhadra ran to the place and managed to drag him out of water. This set Balabhadra thinking; he told the *Sanauḍiā brāhmaṇa* that, he could save the

Master that day being near at hand, but if such a thing were to occur at Vṛndāvana, who would rescue him? The crowd of visitors also were becoming unmanageable and there were too many invitations; and on top of these the Master seemed to be continually in a trance, which, to Balabhadra did not bode well. Hence he suggested that they leave the place. The *Sanauḍiā* heartily agreed and proposed that they should go to Allahabad, and bathe there on the Makara-*saṁkrānti* day.

So Balabhadra went to Caitanya and told him: 'I am unable to stand this crowd of visitors any more. All of them are eager to invite you. They can't find you in the morning and pester me. I would be very happy if we could go to Allahabad and bathe there on the Makara-*saṁkrānti* day.'

Caitanya did not wish to leave Vṛndāvana, but he was averse to hurting the feelings of the man who had served him well; hence he agreed.

Next day Caitanya left Mathura accompanied by Balabhadra, the *Sanauḍiā brahmana*, Kṛṣṇa-dās and another Bengali *brāhmaṇa*. After proceeding for some distance, they sat down under the shade of a tree for rest, and suddenly Caitanya went into a trance; he fell on the ground foaming at the mouth and his breathing practically stopped. As the three followers were waiting for the Master to regain his normal sense, ten Muslim horsemen arrived there. They concluded that Balabhadra and the other three were highway robbers, and had administered some poison to the handome man, now senseless, to rob him. So they arrested the four amidst vehement protest.

While altercations were going on, Caitanya suddenly jumped up and began to dance shouting 'Hari! Hari!' The thunderous roar of 'Hari!' Hari!' from his booming voice struck the Muslims with awe, and they released the four men. Caitanya was oblivious to his surroundings, but Balabhadra made him sit down, and then he saw the soldiers. They saluted him and said that he had been poisoned by his companions intent on robbing him. Caitanya assured them that they were acting under a grievous misapprehension; the four men were his companions, and he was a monk with no such possession which anyone might covet.

Then followed a long discussion between Caitanya and one of the Muslims, dressed in black, whom Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj calls a '*pīr*'.[6] The *pīr* was convinced by Caitanya's arguments, and was renamed Rām-dās. Another Muslim, whose name, according to the *CC*, was Bijuli Khān also became a convert, and later became famous as

a *mahā-bhāgavata*. Apparently, the rest of the party, numbering eight, remained true to their faith.

After this, there was no further trouble on the way, and Caitanya and his companions arrived at Allahabad.

It has been mentioned above that the brothers Rūp and Sanātan had met Caitanya at Ramkeli. Soon after, they decided to give up their worldly pursuits and join the Master. So they disposed of their wealth, and while Rūp and his younger brother Anupam managed to escape, Sanātan was imprisoned by the Sultān. During this time Rūp had managed to keep himself informed of the Master's movements and when he heard that the latter had gone to Vṛndāvana, he and Anupam proceeded thither, informing Sanātan of their destination. However, Rūp and Anupam met the Master at Allahabad. They approached him with great humility, but were welcomed most cordially.

It was at this time that Vallabhācārya, the great Vaiṣṇava teacher, and the propounder of the Śuddhādvaita school of Vedānta, came to see Caitanya from his place at the nearby village of Adel.[7] Caitanya introduced Rūp and Anupam to Vallabhācārya and the latter invited all of them. The next day they went to Adel, and had their meal with Vallabha, who honoured Caitanya in every possible manner. The CC describes the respectful homage which Vallabha paid to Caitanya. Probably this is no exaggeration, for at this time, Vallabha was a house-holder, while Caitanya was a monk, and it is the duty of a house-holder to bow down to a monk. Moreover, the following incident, recorded in a book of Vallabha's sect, shows the high regard which the latter had for Caitanya. "Once upon a time Sri Krsna Chaitanya, while going from Bengal to Vrindavana, came to Adel where the Acharya was living, after mid-day. The latter asked his wife to give him some food. She replied that as it was late in the day, all the food, which had been consecrated, had been used up, and added that no holy food would be available until the next offering to the Image was made. At this the Acharya fed Sri Chaitanya from the food which was prepared for the next offering. As this was an unusual proceeding on his part, one of his disciples asked him why this was done, whereupon the Acharya told him that Sri Krsna Himself resided in the heart of Sri Chaitanya and that because of it food given to him was an offering made to God."[8] There are reasons to believe that Rūp and Sanātan maintained their friendship with Vallabha, and later with the latter's son Viṭṭhalanātha.

At Allahabad, Caitanya took up in hand Rūp's spiritual progress. He imbued Rūp with his own power (*śakti*) and instructed him in his

doctrine, including all the *siddhāntas* he had learnt from Rāmānanda (CC. II. xix. 106). For ten days Caitanya taught Rūp, and then sent him and his brother to Vṛndāvana, and himself proceeded to Varanasi.

A few days later, Sanātan arrived at Varanasi on his way to Vṛndāvana. He was delighted to learn that the Master was there, and went to Candraśekhar's house where Caitanya was staying. Like his brother Rūp, Sanātan approached the Master with extreme humility, and begged that a lowly creature like him might not be touched. But the Master embraced him fondly saying, 'I touch you to purify myself; so strong is the power of your devotion that you can emancipate the whole world'.

While coming, Sanātan had grown a beard, and, with the strain of the travel, presented an unkempt appearance. So at the Master's bidding, he went out shaved, bathed and put on a new set of clothes given him by Candraśekhar. But he had kept with him an expensive *Bhoṭ* (of Bhutan) blanket, which his brother-in-law had presented him while he was fleeing. When he returned after his bath, the Marathi *brāhmaṇa* was with Caitanya, and he requested Sanātan to have his meals at his house every day. Sanātan refused, saying that he would prefer to beg from different persons each day. But while he was speaking with the *brāhmaṇa* he noticed that the Master was pointedly noticing his *Bhoṭ* blanket. So he decided to get rid of it. After midday, Sanātan went to a Ganges *ghāṭ* and saw a man drying an old cotton wrapper; that man was bewildered when Sanātan proposed that he should exchange the wrapper for the blanket, but was ultimately prevailed upon to do so. Caitanya was very happy when Sanātan returned minus that blanket, a sign of opulence ill suited to the man, whom he had marked out to be the chief theoretician of his doctrine.

Having settled down, Sanātan asked the Master three questions: 'Who am I? Why is the pain of *tri-tāpa* consuming me?[9] What is my duty? I do not know what is good for me. I do not even know how to frame a question about the end, and the means to achieve the end. Have mercy on me and tell me the pith and substance of reality'.

Caitanya told Sanātan, that due to Lord's grace, he (Sanātan) knew the answers and was no longer suffering from *tri-tāpa*. His attitude showed his extreme humility; but as he was a fit person Caitanya promised to impart to him the fundamentals of his creed.

For two months did the Master instruct Sanātan. At the end, Sanātan asked him: 'To Sārvabhauma you gave thirteen expla-

nations of the verse from the *Bhāgavata* (I. vii. 10); please let me hear those explanations.' Caitanya laughed and replied: 'I am a lunatic, Sārvabhauma is another. I do not remember the nonsense I told him. Ordinarily I cannot dwell on such things; but when stimulated by contact with people like you, I can say something.' So saying Caitanya again began to explain the verse.[10]

Sanātan was also the witness of another discussion. The Maratha *brāhmaṇa,* who had become closely attached to Caitanya, was sad at heart because the monists were denouncing the Master in forceful language. So he thought that the only way to stop the calumny would be to confront the traducers with the Master; once he left Varanasi, it would be impossible to remove the blot on his fame, which, the *brāhmaṇa* felt, would haunt him for the rest of his life. So the *brāhmaṇa* invited all the *sannyāsins* he could, and came to Caitanya. There his hosts, namely, Candraśekhar and Tapan Miśra joined the Marathi *brāhmaṇa,* and between them, they persuaded him to accept the invitation to have his meal with the *sannyāsins.*

Caitanya seems to have reached a little late at the Marathi *brāhmaṇa's* house, for by the time he arrived there the other *sannyāsins* had already gathered. For, earlier while returning from his bath he had gone to Vindu-Mādhava, and began to dance in the court-yard while Candraśekhar, Paramānanda, Tapan and Sanātan conducted *nāma-saṁkīrtana.* This attracted a huge crowd and ultimately Prakāśānanda with some other *sannyāsins* also came to see the much derided dance. Caitanya stopped dancing as soon as he realized the presence of the *sannyāsins,* and bowed at Prakāśānanda's feet, and the compliment was returned by the latter. At this, Caitanya expressed deep contrition that a man like Prakāśānanda should touch his feet, since he was not fit to be even the latter's disciple. Not to be outdone in politeness, Prakāśānanda replied that by touching Caitanya's feet, he was washing off the sin of having criticized Caitanya. After exchanging further compliments, Caitanya entered the meeting place and bowing to the congregation, sat in a corner. There he exhibited some mystic power, and his body began to irradiate his spiritual splendour. This attracted the monks, and they all stood up, and Prakāśānanda, the chief among them, first requested Caitanya to take a proper seat, and when the latter begged to be excused, led him to the centre of the assembly with due respect.

Then Prakāśānanda began to inquire: why had not Caitanya met them? Why being a monk he performed *saṁkīrtana* and even danced? Why had he given up studying the *vedānta* and taken to

emotionalism? In reply Caitanya informed them that, as he was a very ignorant and uneducated, his *guru* had enjoined that, instead of reading the *vedānta,* he should constantly recite the name of Kṛṣṇa.

With this prefatory self-abnegation, obligatory to all the *vaiṣṇavas* of his sect, Caitanya began to expound his doctrine of the importance of the name of Kṛṣṇa. This was followed by a dissertation in which Caitanya pointed out the faults in Śaṁkara's system, and practically repeated the arguments with which he had convinced Sārvabhauma, though he added some new points, or rather new categories. At the end, the monists were convinced of their mistake; their attitude was changed, and henceforth they began to recite the name of Kṛṣṇa.[11] This seems to have satisfied Caitanya, for, it does not appear that the *sannyāsins* joined his sect, nor that he made any attempt in that direction, beyond insisting that they should read the *Bh.P.,* which according to him was *the* commentary on the *Br. S.,* and the Upaniṣads. It may be added that, after the discussion was over, the host informed his guests, that the Master was capable of giving sixty-one interpretations to a verse of the *Bh. P.* (I.vii.10). Immediately, there was a general request, and Caitanya bowing down to their demand explained the verse, presumably in the manner in which he had explained it to Sanātan.

This incident made Caitanya famous in Varanasi, and while the mass engaged themselves in *nāma-saṁkīrtana* the scholarly *sannyāsins* began to read the *Bh. P.* However, to his intimates Caitanya remarked jocularly: 'I came to sell emotionalism in Kāśī, but there are no buyers; it does not sell and it is difficult to carry the load back home. You too were all sad at the idea, that I should burden myself with this heavy load, so according to your wish I have distributed it free.' Possibly, this was said only half in jest; for it is evident, even from the *CC*, that, Caitanya did not convert the monists to his faith. It is, however, quite likely, that during his prolonged stay at Varanasi, he had been able to induce the people—both the mass and the scholars—to adopt a more positive attitude to *vaiṣṇava* religion and devotional fervour.

It was hardly possible to do anything more. Caitanya had before him the example of Vallabhācārya, who, frustrated by his repeated failure to establish his thesis at Varanasi, had removed himself to Adel. And Caitanya had no written text, except the *Bh. P.,* to provide his followers with a framework of reference; even for the *Bh. P.* he depended on Śrīdhara Svāmin's commentary. But that by this time he had decided to establish a sect is clear. He ordered Sanātan to write a *vaiṣṇava-smṛti* containing *guru-lakṣaṇa; śiṣya-*

lakṣaṇa; the method of examining them; the deity; *mantra-vicāra; mantra-adhikārī; mantra-śodhana; dīkṣā;* obligatory morning rituals; *śauca; ācamana,* and other details including the sandalwood paste marks with which a *vaiṣṇava* should ornament his body.[12]

Five days after his meeting with Prakāśānanda and other *sannyāsins,* Caitanya sent Sanātan to Vṛndāvana, and himself left for Puri, returning by the same route through the Jharkhand forest. He enjoyed this lovely route, happy in the primitive surroundings, and away from the crowd of admirers which he attracted everywhere else.

In due course he returned to Puri after an absence of about ten months. He never left Puri again.[13]

1. The same is true of Rāma-Kṛṣṇa also, with only one exception: one day he ate rice cooked by Vivekānanda.
2. These two stories are usually cited to prove the extreme credulity of Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj. These stories were related by Balabhadra, *CC.* II. iii. 69. But before judging the historicity of the *CC.* on the basis of such stories it is necessary to remind oneself of the age in which it was written. Even Śaṁkara quoted with approval in *Br. S.* II. i. 27.

   acintyāḥ khalu ye bhāvā na tāṁs tarkeṇa yojayet (sādhayet)
   prakṛtibhyaḥparaṁ yac ca (yat tu) tad acintasya lakṣaṇam.

   Mahābhārata, Bhīṣma, VI. ii. ('Do not apply reasoning to what is unthinkable! The mark of the unthinkable is that it is beyond all material manifestation.') According to Ānandagiri, *prakṛti* here means that which is not seen and *acintya* means that which one learns from the teacher. See also Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary, Citrasala, ed. *Bhīṣma,* V, 12.
3. As Chandraśekhar was not a brāhmaṇa, (he was a *vaisya* by caste) Caitanya would not take food in his house.
4. Tapan Miśra was a *brāhmaṇa,* but even in his house Balabhadra cooked Caitanya's meals. *CC.* II. xvii, 84. Here it seems Caitanya ate the food cooked by the *Sanauḍiā brāhmaṇa.* These incidents have no direct bearing on Caitanya as a religious preacher, but they are significant as illustrating the extreme social stratification of this age. Secondly, Dr. Nizami has stated: 'Probably never before in the long history of Hinduism, religious leaders had sprung from those strata of society to which Chaitanya, Kabir... belonged. There was hardly any saint of the *bhakti* school who had not passed some of his time in a Khanqah. K. A. Nizami: *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the 13th Century,* Aligarh Muslim University, 1961, p. 264). We would be happy if such a state of affairs existed in that age, but the evidence is nil, and so is the probability from the evidence we have just cited. For an account of Hindu attitude of food touched by Muslims, see the story of Subuddhi Roy, *CC.* II. xxv. 139-167. Dr. Nizami is also wrong about Caitanya's social position.
5. So that his feet may not touch the holy place, for to Caitanya the little hillock was an object of worship.
6. *CC.* II. xviii. 175. We are omitting the discussion. We believe that the Qalandars used to be dressed in black.
7. Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj calls it Aḍail.
8. M. C. Parekh, *Sri Vallabhcharya—Life, Teachings and Movement,* Rajkot, 1943, p. 167.
9. *Tri-tāpa* means 'three fires' or 'three pains'; they are (1) *ādhyātmika,* that is, bodily ailments or mental sufferings, (2) *ādhibhautika,* that is, pain inflicted by men or animals; (3) *ādhidaivika,* that is, pain suffered due to change in surroundings, such as heat, cold, rain, etc.

10. Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj has given details of Caitanya's instructions to Sanātan in more than 700 verses covering 4 chapters (*CC*. II. xxi-xxiv). These instructions form the basis of Caitanya's doctrine and will be explained later in chapters on doctrine. For a discussion on the historicity of Kṛṣṇa-dās's account of the meeting of Caitanya and Sanātan, see Appendix A to this chapter.
11. For a discussion of the historicity of this meeting, see Appendix B to this chapter.
12. *CC*. II. xxiv. 239-57. Even now a procession is taken out annually in Varanasi, most probably in January, to commemorate Caitanya's visit to the city.
13. Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj has divided the period of Caitanya's life into *Ādī*, *Madhya* and *Antya-līlā*. The *Ādi-līlā* comprises the first 24 years and ends when Caitanya takes orders. *Madhya-līlā* relates the story of the next six years which we have just completed. Of these six years, about three years and a half were spent in travels: two years in the south, eight months in Bengal and about ten months in north India. The rest of the period he was at Puri. (*CC*. II. xix. 2-29.)

Appendix A (Chapter XVIII)

Historicity of Sanātana-śikṣā

Modern scholars are sceptic about the historicity of Caitanya's instructions to Sanātan as related in the *CC*. It has been shown (*MC*. 383) that some at least of the verses of the *CC*. are the Bengali versions of corresponding verses of Sanātana Gosvāmin's *Bṛhad-Bhāgavtāmṛta*, Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghu-Bhagavatāmṛta*, and Jīva Gosvāmin's *Ṣaṭ-sandarbha* and the *Sarva-saṁvādinī*. It has therefore been suggested, rather assumed, that Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj put into Caitanya's mouth the doctrines of the Gosvāmins mentioned above.

The natural corollary to this assumption would be, to put it bluntly, that Caitanya did not preach any doctrine, nor did he leave any positive contribution to either *vaiṣṇava* theory or practice beyond the spreading of *saṁkīrtana*. The second corollary would be that, the Gosvāmins were very sharp men, and that they had evolved certain theories, which Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj cunningly propagated as the Master's doctrine, fully knowing that he was committing perjury of the worst kind. From these two hypotheses, one would be justified in declaring that the theoretical part of Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavism* (including the rituals but excluding *saṁkīrtana*) were the creation of the Gosvāmins mentioned above, and it is fraudulent to claim that Caitanya had anything to do with it. As such a conclusion is opposed to all evidence, we have to reject it, as well as the assumptions of which it is a logical corollary.

The scholarly attitude seems to us somewhat peculiar. Sanātana Gosvāmin and Rūpa Gosvāmin were high officials under a Muslim Sultān, practically till the day they left for Vṛndāvana;[1] but modern scholars are inclined to attribute to them the credit for establishing the theoretical background of a new creed mainly on the hypothesis that Caitanya was incapable of doing so, though he had already spent about 6-8 years in teaching, and then about 4-5 years amidst scholars and devotees including men like Sārvabhauma, and Rāmānanda and about two years in the south, the home of *Vaiṣṇavism*, after having spent the first twenty-four years of his life at Navadvīpa, then the greatest centre of intellectual activities east of Varanasi.

The case of Jīva Gosvāmin stands on a different footing, for he was trained, practically from his boybood by his uncles Rūp and Sanātan. Similarly, Raghunātha-dāsa Gosvāmin was trained by Dāmodar Svarūp, who incidentally was Caitanya's constant companion at Puri ever since he returned from the south.

However, if it is found that, there are valid grounds for concluding, that the similarity between the verses attributed to Caitanya in the *CC*, and some verses in the works of Rūp and Sanātan are due to the latter's having based their works on the doctrine they had learnt from the Master, then it would analogically follow that their

nephew Jīv had done the same, having learnt the Master's doctrine from his uncles.

It may be argued that during their long official career, Rūp and Sanātan did not find enough time to devote to their writing, but during their lonely sojourn at Vṛndāvana, they could find the time to develop their thesis.

Then the question would naturally arise as to what did they see in Caitanya which could attract men of their calibre? Rūp and Sanātan were accomplished scholars. Rūp had probably written three works before he met Caitanya, and Caitanya was once angry with his friend Jagadānanda for having presumed to advise Sanātan, for, he said, Sanātan was a veteran authority on scriptures. (CC, III. iv. 162). Both of them must have been shrewd men of affairs, otherwise they could not have risen so high. Still they gave up everything at the Master's call and for about three decades lived a life of abject penury. Can this extreme devotion be accounted for only by Caitanya's ecstatic dancing and devotional *saṁkīrtana*? Ordinary people might be attracted to him through these, but would it be enough for men like Rūp and Sanātan? It should be noted that nowhere it is stated that Caitanya had shown any miracles to Rūp and Sanātan, like appearing as the incarnation of Viṣṇu. What then could have attracted Rūp and Sanātan? We do not deny that Caitanya's great personality attracted the two brothers, or even hypnotized them; but was it sufficient to sustain their interest, particularly since the total time they spent in the Master's company did not exceed about one year. Indeed it has been sometimes suggested, that the two brothers stayed with Caitanya for such a short time, that, it was not possible for him to impart to them the doctrines attributed to him in the *CC*. But from the way in which Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj has put it, this does not appear to be at all improbable.

Secondly, both the brothers believed that Caitanya was an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. In his *Bṛhad-Bhāgavatāmṛta* (*Maṁgala* verses 1 & 3), Sanātan has identified Caitanya with Krsna, and stated: '*Yady-api Śrī-Caitanya-devo avatara* . . .' etc. Rūpa Gosvāmin has said:

'na yat katham api śrutav-upaniṣadbhir apy=ahitam
svayaṁ ca vivṛtaṁ na yad gurutar-āvatār-āntare
kṣipannasi ras-āmbudhe tad iha bhakti-ratnaṁ kṣitau
Śacī-sūta mayi prabho kuru Mukunda mande kṛpām[2].

This reference to Vedas and Upaniṣads, and the statement *svayaṁ ca vivṛtam*, indicates clearly that Rūpa Gosvāmin meant doctrine and not merely *saṁkīrtana* and dancing, which no one expects to find in the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. Almost similar statement is made by Rūpa Gosvāmin in the *maṁgala* verse (2) of the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*.

Secondly, if Rūp and Sanātan were passing off their doctrines as Caitanya's, would their contemporaries have faith in them? In an interesting letter written by Vīrabhadra, Nityānanda's son, and then the chief of Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas*, it is stated: '. . . . *Prabhu-śakti Rūp-ādi Śrīmad—Rūpa-Gosvāmidvārā granthaṁ prakāśitam* . . . .[3]' From this it may be reasonably concluded that, Vīrabhadra was satisfied that the works of Rūp and Sanātan contained the Master's doctrine. That would not be difficult, as nowhere it is stated that Caitanya kept

his doctrines a secret, and revealed it only to Rūp and Sanātan; he must have discussed it with his intimates of which there are enough indications.

Now, we have to discuss Caitanya's 61 explanations of a verse from the *Bh. P.* (I. vii. 10). According to the *CC.* (II, vi. 168-179) Sārvabhauma first gave 9 explanations of this verse, and in reply Caitanya gave 18 explanations. After Caitanya had explained his creed to Sanātan, the latter expressed a wish to hear the explanations as has been stated above. (p. 211-12). This time Caitanya gave 61 explanations, and repeated the same in respone to public clamour in the meeting with the monists as mentioned above. (p. 213).

Nobody denies that Sārvabhauma was capable of giving nine explanations of this verse, or for that matter, of any other. Now, let us assume that Caitanya had also really given 18 explanations, possibly inspired by contact with Sārvabhauma, as he explained to Sanatan. Sārvabhauma's conversion was a famous event in those days, and Sanātan's teacher was Sārvabhauma's younger brother, so it is quite likely that Sanātana had heard of this incident, and was naturally curious to hear it. Apparently no one had kept any notes, nor remembered the 18 explanations, for Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj gives no details.

Sanātan, however, was just that type of man who would keep notes, or probably gifted with a prodigal memory which was not uncommon in those days, and he passed it on till Kṛṣṇa-das Kavirāj recorded it. (Sanātan had learnt from Balabhadra and noted the route followed by Caitanya in his journey to Vṛndāvana. Later Sanātan followed the same route. *CC.* III. iv. 201). In the meantime, as we have seen, this strange feat was mentioned in the assembly of monks and Caitanya had to repeat it.

However, neither Sanātana Gosvāmin nor Jīva Gosvāmin gives any of the Master's explanations in their respective commentaries of the *Bh. P.* wherefore the whole episode has been dismissed as imaginary. But the fact is, that, the type of the explanations as recorded in the *CC*, is not to be found in any commentary. For example Caitanya begins: '*Atman* means, *Brahman*, *deha* (body), *mind*, *yatna*, *dhṛti*, *buddhi*, *svabhāva*; *muni* means, *manana-śīla*. *maunī*, *tapasvin*, *vratī*, *ṛṣi*, *muni*.'; and thus he goes on. Is it any wonder that Sanātan and Jīv were obliged to overlook the Master's explanation in their commentaries; not only such is not the way in which a commentary is written, but it would take several lives to write a commentary on the *Bh. P.* on this model, and what would be the ultimate result? An enlarged glossary. The Master's explanations were suitable material for a biography, not for a commentary. There is little philosophy in Caitanya's commentary on this verse of the Bh. P. This may appear surprising, hence it is necessary to remember that he was a grammarian and from childhood possessed of a keen sense of humour. The 61 explanations of one verse is probably an example of his humour as a grammarian. There is no reason to disbelieve Kṛṣṇa-das Kavirāj when he states that the monks were wonderstruck when they heard the 61 explanations; everyone would be.

However, Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj states that having heard 61 ex-

planations the people decided 'Caitanya-*gosāiñ* Kṛṣṇa'; this has been taken to mean that these explanations impressed the audience so much that they decided that 'Caitanya was indeed an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa'. We think, however, that this line has a simple explanation. Prakāśānanda (and presumably his followers also) used to refer to Caitanya, simply as 'Caitanya', and never as 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya' as he ought to have been referred to (*CC*. II. xvii. 113-123). Possibly therefore a pun was intended, either by the monks or by Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj or by both. This does not mean, however, that Prakāśānanda and his associates were not impressed by Caitanya. This we shall discuss in the next appendix.

From the above discussion it would follow that, there is no evidence to indicate that Rūp and Sanātan had evolved any theory before meeting Caitanya, neither is there anything to indicate that Caitanya was incapable of forming the theoretical background of his sect. On the contrary, the probability is that, when they met, Caitanya was more likely to have evolved the basic tenets than the two brothers. Rūp and Sanātan systematized the Master's tenets on a scholarly basis. They were eminently suitable for this task, and their appointment shows Caitanya's capacity for selecting men, practically at first sight. To select two ministers of a Sultān as the chief theoreticians of a *vaiṣṇava* sect needs extraordinary vision. It is quite likely that he shall have preferred them as men with good academic background, but with a mind free from theological convictions or sectarian bias of any kind.

From all accounts that we possess, all the Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins* appear to have been extremely pious men. Without strong positive evidence, it would be unreasonable to impute any motives to them, particularly that, they attempted to pass on their doctrine as the Master's. The same is true of Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj. When he was writing the *CC*., many were alive who had enjoyed intimate contact with the Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins* and also with other associates of the Master. Would they have kept quiet if Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj had committed the sacrilege of putting into the Master's mouth doctrines enunciated for the first time by the Gosvāmins? We think, therefore, that Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj had compelling reasons to believe that what he was ascribing as the Master's utterances was really the Master's, which was later elaborated by the Gosvāmins in their works; hence the similarity and Kṛṣṇa-dās's frequent quotation from their works, knowing fully well that these were written much after the Master's death.

1. Sanātan and Rūp took the Krsna-*mantra* from a *brāhmaṇa* after Caitanya had left Ramkeli. Thereafter Rūp left Ramkeli; Sanātan remained and in the company of 20-30 *brahmanas* started discussing the *Bh.P.* For his neglect of duty he was soon imprisoned by the Sultān. Sanātan managed to escape by bribing the jailer, and straightaway made for Vrindāvana, and on his way met Caitanya at Varanasi.
2. 'The jewel of *bhakti* which is not to be found in the Vedas or the Upaniṣads, which you did not reveal in your former incarnations, that you are now distributing on earth. O Mukunda (who are now born as) son of Śacī (Caitanya) have mercy on us!' Quoted in *MC*. p. 153.
3. *MC*. p. 692. The letter is not dated, but must have been written before the *CC*.

Appendix B. (Chapter XVIII)

Prakāśānanda

The story of Prakāśānanda is also rejected by modern scholars mainly on the following ground:

No other biographer except Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj mentions the name of Prakāśānanda. Vṛndāvan-dās states that after his return from Gaya, Caitanya twice expressed a desire to subdue Prakāśānanda, but about the actual meeting he is silent.

Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj has related many incidents in Caitanya's life as well as of his associates like Rūp and Sanātan, which are not given in any biography which are considered to be authoritative by modern scholars; but the silence of such biographers does not indicate that wherever Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj is giving some new information not available elsewhere he must be wrong. Anyway a different criterion of criticism seems to be applied to Jayānanda universally regarded as the most unreliable biographer: yet his two statements, namely that Caitanya's ancestors came from Jajpur, and that he died of a wound, are accepted by the modern scholars though neither of these statements are corroborated by anyone. Therefore the silence of the other biographers cannot be accepted as of decisive importance, and we have to judge the internal evidence.

Firstly, Sanātan was present during this memorable occasion; therefore it would not have been difficult for Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj to obtain the details, if not from Sanātan, then at least from Rūp and Jīv, both of whom must have heard this story from the former.

Secondly, would Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj have dared to fabricate a story about the Master, which, apart from the impiety involved, would, if detected, have branded his book as an infamous work. And chance of detection was not totally absent; for though the *CC* was written about a century after Caitanya is reported to have met Prakāśānanda, people in Varanasi have a long memory about such incidents; particularly in those days when sectarian rivalry was extremely keen, to leave such loophole would have been an act of imbecility.

Thirdly, Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj has described this incident twice, once in his introductory chapters (I. vii) in which he has dealt with the fundamental tenets of Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism, and again in proper sequence. (II. xxv). Apparently he attached to it unusual importance. It has been suggested that Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj may have added this incident, possibly because in the beginning of the 17th century it was necessary to include such an incident to sustain Caitanya's reputation (*MC*. p. 332). This suggestion, which does little credit to Caitanya's reputation or to Kṛṣṇa-dās's integrity, is not supported by any evidence. On the contrary, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, a much greater *advaita* scholar than Prakāśānanda, had by that time practically avowed the importance of *bhakti*. However, the objections rais-

ed in the *MC* (pp. 329-33) has been fully met by Sri Radha Govinda Nath in *CC*, Introduction volume pp. 41-56. Hence we need not go into those.

Forthly, we have to take into account the evidence of the work of Prakāśānanda namely, the *Vedāntasiddhānta-muktāvalī*.[1] In this text Prakāśānanda has made some admissions which are curious for a monist:

(1) Prakāśānanda admits that Māyā-*śakti* is the *upādāna-kāraṇa* of the world; it is located in Brahman. (*VSM*, p. 121, v. 38).

(2) He has written a verse (p. 54) which directly implies, as the translator has pointed out, that the *Bhedābheda* doctrine is not illogical.

(3) As *rāgi-gītam*, he quotes the following verse:

varaṁ Vṛndāvane śūnye sṛgālatvaṁ sa icchati
na tu nirviṣayam mokṣaṁ mantum arhati Gautama.[2]

He does not refute the sentiments expressed in this verse.

(4) He has inserted certain verses declaring his faith, of course in *advaita*, but not only is the place inappropriate, but the following verse seems to be uncalled for an *advaita* text:

n=āsti Brahma sadānandaṁ iti me durmatiḥ sthitā
kva gatā sā na jānāmi yad=āhaṁ tad vapuḥ sthitaḥ[3]

(5) Prakāśānanda states: (p. 101) '*atra kecit tat-tvam-asy-ādi-vākye lakṣaṇā eva tāvat na aṁgīkriyate*'[4]. Then proceeds to defend the use of *lakṣaṇā* in explaining the *mahāvākya* at great length.

(6) Though at the beginning of the *VSM*, Prakāśānanda has given the usual example of rope and snake, at the end he states of *vivarttavāda*: '*tasya bāla-vyutpatti-mātra-prayojanatayā upanisat-tātparyy-āviṣayatvāt*.[5]

(7) In the dedicatory verses at the end it is stated:
Nārāyaṇa-samāsaktā Śriyā sāpatnya-dūṣitā.[6]

Thus Prakāśānanda directly admits Brahman's *śakti* as the *upādāna-kāraṇa*, (material cause), quotes a verse which seems to be typical of Gaudīya-*vaṣṇavas* without any comment other than this is the saying of *rāgi* man that is, those who follow the *rāga-marga* or Gau-*ḍīya-vaiṣṇavas*; by implication admits the validity of the *Bhedābheda* doctrine; rejects *Vivarttavāda* and dedicates his book to Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa. By whom could he have been influenced? Not by Vallabhācārya, for he had left Varanasi, being unable to impress the scholars there, and there is no tradition in his sect that he ever overcame Prakāśānanda in a debate.

On the other hand, Caitanya's most authoritative biographer says that he defeated Prakāśānanda in a debate. There does not seem to be any reason to disbelieve this statement.

A further point to be noted is that, of all the great *vaiṣṇava* teachers, Caitanya was the least sectarian. Though he firmly opposed Śaṁkara's *Mayā-vāda*, he always paid the highest respect to Śaṁkara. Also Caitanya made it one of the principal offence to make any distinction between Śiva and Viṣṇu. Hence he was more

likely to have influenced Prakāśānanda than any other *vaiṣṇava* teacher.

Finally, when Caitanya went to Varanasi (c. 1516), the position of the monists was far from secure; they had not yet been able to reply to the criticisms of Jayatīrtha (1365-88), and Vyāsa-tīrtha (1478-1589) was writing his polemics. It was Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, who vindicated the glory of *advaita* doctrine in the 16th century. But Madhusūdana also wrote the *Bhāgavad-bhakti-rasāyana*, and a commentary on the first verse of the *Bh. P.* It is quite possible that Caitanya imbued the monists of Varanasi with *bhakti* doctrine of which Madhusūdana's works were the results.

1. *Vedānta-siddhānta-muktāvalī* by Prakāśānanda—Published with a Hindi translation by the *Acyutagranthamālā Kāryālaya, Kāśī*, 1993. S.E.
2. O' Gautama! it is better to be a jackal in deserted Vṛndāvana, rather than to wish for *nirviṣaya* emancipation (of the monists)'. Ibid, 82.
3. 'I was under the foolish idea that Brahman is not eternal bliss; I do not know where my intelligence was when I was in that state.' Ibid. p. 149, v. 46.
4. 'Some one objects to the use of *lakṣaṇā* in explaining "That thou art".' Prakāśānanda's defence of *lakṣaṇā* (pp. 101) does not seem to be very convincing. For example his statement that *lakṣaṇā* should be admitted for explaining the *mahā-vākya 'anyathā sarvatra lakṣaṇ-occheda-prasaṁgaḥ'*, p. 105.
5. 'The *vivarttavāda* is meant only for boys; it does not pertain to the understanding of the Upaniṣads.' Ibid, p. 171.
6. 'This book (*Pearl-necklace-of-Vedanta* is) attached to the neck of Nārāyaṇa, (causing thereby) jealousy (in the heart of) Lakṣmī (like unto a) co-wife.' Ibid, p. 185.

CHAPTER XIX

ANTYA-LĪLĀ (i)

The Last Phase

The Master's return to Puri put his followers into a flurry of joy. He also was very happy to meet them again. Dāmodar Svarūp sent a messenger to Navadvīpa with the glad tidings of the Master's safe return, and soon the pilgrims started for Puri. Hereafter, so long Caitanya was alive, they came to Puri annually, with one break; Caitanya had thought of going to Bengal, and so had asked them not to come to Puri. As it turned out, however, he was unable to leave Puri.

In the meantime Rūp also arrived in obedience to the Master's order. He stayed for ten months and during this time wrote two plays, the *Lalita-Mādhava* and the *Vidagdha-Mādhava*. He was induced to read them or at least parts of them before a distinguished gathering, including the Master, and was highly appreciated. After the *holi* festival, Rūp was allowed to return to Vṛndāvana; the Master asked him to send Sanātan.

People from all over India came to Puri on pilgrimage. Many of them took this opportunity to pay their respects to the famous Monk of Puri. Caitanya received them kindly and instructed many of them, or as Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj puts it, 'imbued the suitable ones with his own *śakti*.'

In Bengal, his movement was spreading, mainly due to the missionary activity of Nityānanda. But one Nakul Brahmacārin also seems to have helped the propagation of Caitanya's doctrine. His ecstatic fervour resembled that of the Master's, and it was claimed that the Master had impregnated his heart with his own power. Nakul was tested by Śivānanda Sen, and passed the test. Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj adds, that, the Master was always present in Śacī's house, wherever Nityānanda danced, or Śrīvās sang *kīrtana*, and in the house of Rāghava.

About this time, Caitanya sent a message to his followers, that, he was likely to come to Bengal in the winter, so they need not come to Puri that year. Hence they postponed their annual visit; but Caitanya did not come and they became extremely depressed, particularly Jagadānanda and Śivānanda Sen, Kavi-karṇapūra's

father, who guided the annual pilgrimage. To them came Nṛsiṁhānanda who assured them that he would bring the Master on the third day. Nṛsiṁhānanda sat in meditation and, after two days, informed Jagadānanda and Śivānanda that, the Master had come up to Pānihāṭi, and would arrive at their place by noon next day. Next morning they cooked an elaborate meal and offered them on three different plates, one for Jagannātha, one for Nṛsiṁha (the deity) and another for the Master. As they sat outside in meditation, Nṛsiṁhānanda saw the Master enter the temple and eat all the food. Śivānanda was doubtful; but next year when they visited Puri, the Master himself told Śivānanda and others that the food which Nṛsiṁhānanda had offered him last year in the month of Pauṣa was the best that he had ever tasted. Similarly, he used to eat in his mother's house everyday.[1]

One day the Master was invited by Bhagavān Ācārya to have his meal at his house.[2] In order to give the Master the best possible food, Bhagavān Ācārya requested *Choṭa*-Hari-dās[3] to fetch some good quality rice from Śikhi Māhitī's old sister, Mādhavī, both of whom were counted amongst Caitanya's foremost devotees, practically on par with Dāmodar Svarūp and Rāmānanda. *Choṭa*-Hari-dās got the rice, which was so good that the Master was interested to know where was it obtained from. Ācārya told him, that he had got it from Mādhavī. Then the Master asked: 'Who went to Mādhavī.' Ācarya told that *Choṭa*-Hari-dās had gone to her. Caitanya praised the food and ate calmly, but on returning home ordered Govinda that *Choṭa*-Hari-dās was not to be admitted to his presence.

Choṭa-Hari-dās found to his consternation that his entry was banned, but could not find the reason for his punishment. He began to fast, and after three days had passed Dāmodar Svarūp and others asked the Master as to what fault *Choṭa*-Hari-dās had committed, and also informed him that, *Choṭa* Hari-dās had been fasting for three days. Caitanya sternly replied: 'I cannot bear to see the face of a *vairāgin*[4] who speaks to a woman. The senses are very uncontrollable, and even a dummy woman made of wood attracts the attention of a sage. Ordinary men just adopt the guise of a *vairāgin* (*markaṭa-vairāgya*), and then satisfy their sensual desire by talking to women.' So saying, he abruptly went inside his house.

Next day all the intimate companions begged the Master to forgive *Choṭa*-Hari-dās; they represented that, he had had his lesson and would not repeat the offence any more. The Master replied: 'I cannot bring myself to see the face of a *vairāgin* who has conversed

with a woman. Please attend to your own business, and stop idle talks; if I again hear you requesting me on behalf of *Choṭa*-Hari-dās, you will not find me here.' The companions were thoroughly shaken and silently they left, as the Master rose for his meals.

Next day Paramānanda Purī came to plead on behalf of *Choṭa*-Hari-dās. Paramānanda was Mādhavendra's disciple, therefore a brother disciple of Caitanya's *guru* Īśvar Purī; for this reason Caitanya always showed him marked respect, and it was naturally felt that Paramānanda's request on behalf of *Choṭa*-Hari-dās could not be in vain. But everyone was mistaken.

Caitanya received Paramānanda as usual, respectfully, and making the latter take his seat asked: 'Please Sir, what is your order?' Paramānanda told him that *Choṭa*-Hari-dās might be forgiven. In reply Caitanya said: 'Please Sir, you stay here with all the *vaiṣṇavas*, and permit me to retire to Ālālnāth. I shall stay there alone with only Govinda as my companion.' He immediately called Govinda, and having prostrated himself at the feet of Paramānanda, started for Ālālnāth. Paramānanda ran to Caitanya and with great difficulty induced him to return, cajoling him by suitable words.

When Paramānanda's intervention failed, the companions told *Choṭa*-Hari-dās that, he had better give up his fast, and bid his time. He followed their advice, and everyday the poor man watched from a distance as the Master went to the Jagannātha temple early in the morning. However, the example was not lost on others; as Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj says: 'They stopped talking with women even in their dreams'.

One year passed, but Caitanya was still inexorable. In the early hours of one morning, *Choṭa*-Hari-dās came and prostrated himself before the closed doors of the Master's house; then he left for Prayāg (Allahabad). There he gave up his life in the waters of the Triveṇī, so that he might serve the Master in the next life. This news reached Puri, but was probably not reported to the Master, who one day asked for *Choṭa*-Hari-dās, and was told that he had left Puri. When Śivānanda and other devotees came on their usual pilgrimage, Śrīvās asked for *Choṭa*-Hari-dās, and Caitanya replied: '*Sva-karma phala-bhuk pumān*'.[5] Then *Choṭa*-Hari-dās's end was related and Caitanya commented with a light heart: 'This is the penalty for looking at a woman.'

About this time, a young *brāhmaṇa* boy, developed great attachment for Caitanya's company, and, in spite of Dāmodar's admonitions, came to see the Master every day, and was warmly received

by the latter.[6] Once Dāmodar unable to repress his feelings blurted out: 'Everybody calls you a *gosvāmin*[7]; now your fame as *gosvāmin* will be firmly established in Puri.' Caitanya taken aback asked: 'Dāmodar, why this tirade?' Dāmodar replied sarcastically: 'You are the almighty Lord, you may act as you please, and who can complain? But can you gag the gossiping public? Can't you see it for yourself? Why do you keep company with a widow's son? Though she is very chaste, her fault is that, she is extremely beautiful. You are also a very handsome young man. Why do you give ground for gossip?'

Dāmodar's harsh words delighted the Master; these he thought, 'are the words of a genuine friend spoken in love'. A few days later, he sent Dāmodar to Navadvīpa to look after his ageing mother; he could not think of a better man. Dāmodar was to come to Puri from time to time carrying news from Śacī, and back to her.

Rūp had gone to Bengal from Puri and about the same time Sanātan left Vṛndāvan for Puri. He was travelling alone, through the Jharkhand forest and paid no heed to food or indeed any creature comforts. As a result, he was infected with a horrible skin disease with running sores. He was so debilitated that he felt his end to be near, and decided to immolate himself under the wheels of Jagannātha's chariot.

In this frame of mind he reached Puri where a little inquiry led him to Hari-dās's abode.[8] Hari-dās embraced him in joy, and a little later Caitanya entered, as was his custom, every morning on his way back from Jagannātha's temple. In spite of Sanātan's vehement protest, Caitanya embraced him, and welcomed him most heartily.

Thus every morning Caitanya came to visit Hari-dās and Sanātan and spent a delightful time in their company. One day suddenly Caitanya began to address Sanātan: 'Sanātan, you cannot attain Kṛṣṇa by merely giving up this body. You can only reach him through devotional service. To seek death is a characteristic sign of *tāmas;* it can never lead to His feet. Only devotion can generate *preman,* which alone can bring Kṛṣṇa to a devotee. So give up your stupid resolution, and devote yourself to learning His glory, and sing His praise. A man born in a low caste is not unfit to serve Him; and a *brāhmaṇa* is not necessarily fit for His service. A man who serves Him with devotion is really great, while a man without devotion is despicable. Kṛṣṇa worship is not based on caste or creed. His grace is more freely bestowed on the poor than on the rich or the learned. Among the forms of worshipping Kṛṣṇa, the best is *nāma-saṁkīrtana;* this mode of worship is faultless and easily begets *preman.*'

Sanātan now fell at Caitanya's feet, and exclaimed; 'I am the lowest of the low; what would you gain by keeping me alive?' Caitanya replied: 'You have dedicated yourself to me; so your body is mine. Why do you want to destroy someone else's property? I shall use your body for various services. You have to write on *bhakta* (devotee), *bhakti* (devotion), *Kṛṣṇa-prema,* determine the categories, and the obligatory duties and customs of *vaiṣṇavas*; you will also have to discover the sacred spots in Mathura and Vṛndāvana, which are very dear to me. I want to spread my religion there, but mother's order obliges me to remain at Puri. Hence you have to do everything on my behalf. Your body is the instrument of my action; how can I tolerate your idea of destroying it?' Sanātan meekly replied: 'I shall act as you will.'

The pilgrims from Bengal came and the Master introduced Sanātan to them. They left after four months but Sanātan stayed on. One day Sanātan in reply to the Master's summons, took the shortest route, along the sea shore; the hot summer sands blistered his feet, but oblivious to all physical pains he hurried. When Caitanya saw his blisters and asked him, Sanātan noticed it, and said that he did not come by the shaded roads because he did not like anyone to touch him. Caitanya was so pleased with his humility, devotion and sense-control, that he embraced him, in spite of his vehement protest, and smeared his body at places with pus from Sanātan's sores.

Sanātan was deeply grieved. One day he took counsel with Caitanya's intimate friend and companion, Jagadānanda. Sanātan complained that he could not prevent the Master from embracing him and getting smeared with pus. Jagadānanda advised him to return to Vṛndāvana after the chariot festival; 'The Master also wants you to settle down there', he told Sanātan.

Next day Caitanya came and as usual embraced Sanātan forcibly. Sanātan again told him, that he should not be touched; and then he added that he would leave Puri after the chariot festival as advised by Jagadānanda. Caitanya was beside himself at the mention of Jagadānanda's temerity. 'Jagā, a pigmy, has the presumption to advise you!' he said. 'You are like his *guru* in transcendental matters, and he tells you how you should behave. You can instruct even me, and that fool thinks he can teach you.' Sanātan fell at Caitanya's feet and said: 'I now know you accept Jagadānanda as your intimate, and treat me on formal terms. Jagadānanda is fortunate indeed.'

Caitanya was slightly abashed but said: 'No, Jagadānanda is not dearer to me than you. But you are thoroughly conversant with the

scriptures, and in comparison with you Jagā is a green horn. His conduct has been most impertinent, and this I cannot tolerate. Your body is not made of ordinary *prākṛta* stuff, it is *aprākṛta*. The sense of distinction between good and bad is a mental illusion. I am a monk; to me sandal wood and mud are identical. When a mother cleans her child, she does not mind even its excreta. A *vaiṣṇava's* body is never *prākṛta;* at the time of initiation, he surrenders himself totally, and Kṛṣṇa renders him like unto Himself, and the *vaiṣṇava's* body becomes transformed into *cit* and *ānanda*.' Addressing Haridās, who had intervened on Sanātan's behalf, he added: 'Kṛṣṇa developed sores on Sanātan's body and sent him to test me; if I had not embraced him, I would have been punished. Indeed when I embrace Sanātan, I smell the fragrance of sandal paste.' So saying Caitanya again embraced Sanātan, and his sores disappeared.

Sanātan stayed at Puri for one year and left for Vṛndāvana after the *holi* festival. This time he had noted from Balabhadra the route which the Master had taken through the Jharkhand forest, and in high ecstasy followed the Master's trail. Soon after Rūp returned from Bengal, and Caitanya sent him to assist his brother. The two brothers then settled down at Vṛndāvana and started on their labour, in which they were later joined by their nephew Jīva Gosvāmin, son of Anupam. These three gradually built the superstructure of Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇava* philosophy according to the blue-print drawn up by the Master and on the firm foundation of *prema-bhakti* laid down by him.

Some time after Rūp had left Purī, Raghu-nāth Dās, another of the Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins* arrived there. The scion of an extremely wealthy and influential family, Raghu-nāth had met Caitanya during the latter's last visit to Santipur. At that time, Caitanya had sternly told him to return to his family, and try to conduct life befitting his status but without attachment. Raghu-nāth implicitly followed the Master's orders, but his craving for giving up worldly pursuits increased. A few years later, he met Nityānanda at Pānihāṭi, where at the latter's bidding Raghu-nāth feasted the large number of assembled *vaiṣṇavas* with milk, curds, and *ciḍā*.[9] Nityānanda then advised Raghu-nāth to join the Master at Puri. A few days later, he eluded his guards, and reached Puri in twelve days. This time Caitanya was pleased to see him and handed him over to Dāmodar Svarūp for instructions. Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj, who had the fortune to see all the Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins*, with the possible exception of Sanātan, has left a vivid description of the austerities practised by Raghu-nāth. Caitanya was very pleased with him, and gave him

his personal Govardhana-*śilā* and a string of beads,[10] which he used to put on during prayers.

Vallabhācārya also came to Puri and met Caitanya. Vallabha was proud of his scholarship, but was awestruck when he saw Caitanya and his companions dancing in front of the chariot during the festival. Vallabha then requested Caitanya to listen to his commentary on the *Bh.P.* Caitanya refused saying that, he was not competent to hear such discussion; the recitation of the name of Kṛṣṇa was enough for him. Vallabha then wanted to explain the meaning of the word 'Kṛṣṇa', but Caitanya replied that, so far as he was concerned, Kṛṣṇa meant Śyāma-sundara and Yaśodā-nandana. Vallabha then tried to interest people at Puri, but failed to attract them to listen to his commentary on the *Bh.p.*

One day Vallabha told Caitanya: 'You consider yourself as the wife of Kṛṣṇa, how then do you utter His name?' Caitanya replied: 'We are carrying out His orders. A chaste woman never disobeys her husband.' Another day Vallabha proudly declared that he had, in his commentary, refuted the explanations given by 'Svāmin.' Caitanya laughed and said: 'She who disobeys her husband (*svāmin*) is a harlot.[11]'

At night Vallabha began to ponder on Caitanya's changed conduct. At Prayāg, Caitanya had enjoyed his hospitality, but here at Puri he seemed to have become indifferent. Ultimately he found the solution. 'I have developed a tendency to overcome opposition by disputes, and parade my scholarship. Caitanya wants to remove my pride like a true friend, and like a fool I feel annoyed.' Next day Vallabha came and thanked Caitanya profusely. Caitanya again tried to impress on Vallabha the merits of Śridhara-svāmin's commentary, but Kṛṣṇa-das Kavirāj does not record Vallabha's answer; probably he kept quiet. Vallabha invited Caitanya to have his meals with him one day, and Caitanya went to the Ācārya's house with all his companions.[12] Vallabha was so much influenced by Caitanya's doctrine that he requested Gadādhar, one of Caitanya's companions to initiate him. Gadādhar, however refused on account of Caitanya, who, it seems, was opposed to the idea.[13]

Rāma-candra Purī a disciple of Mādhavendra, now came to Puri. Caitanya received him with the honour due to him as his preceptor's brother disciple. But he seems to have been a monist, and had attracted the wrath of Mādhavendra; besides this he had other peculiarities. One day he invited Jagadānanda, Caitanya's intimate companion, and forced him to eat a very heavy meal. After Jagadā-

nanda had finished eating, Rāma-candra began to criticize the gluttony of Caitanya's followers, which, he said, was notorious. Then Rāma-candra began to investigate Caitanya's habits; one day seeing some ants in Caitanya's room he exclaimed: 'There must have been some sweets in this room last night; hence the ants. Fie on such greedy monks and their gluttonous desire.' So saying Rāma-candra left.

Caitanya was stunned. So long the cost of his daily food never exceeded four *paṇas* of cowrie shells, which also included the food of his two servants, Govinda and Kāśīsvar. Even when he accepted an invitation, this limiting cost of food was not allowed to be increased. Now he ordered Govinda to decrease the amount to one small measure of rice and a small quantity of vegetable not to exceed five *gaṇḍās* in cost. This was meant to feed the three of them. There was consternation among the companions, but Caitanya and his servants continued on their semi-starvation diet. Then Rāma-candra came and admonished him for neglecting his health, and reminded him of the sayings of the *Gītā* (VI.16-17). Caitanya meekly replied that, he was a child compared to Rāma-candra, and he was indeed fortunate that a man like Rāma-candra had taken up the task of instructing him.

Paramānanda came and requested Caitanya not to mind what Rāma-candra had said, but to resume his normal food habit. Caitanya replied that Rāma-candra was not wrong; a monk should not be a glutton, and must take only a measured quantity of food just sufficient to maintain himself. Still at the insistence of Paramānanda and other friends, Caitanya increased the quantity of food, but for the rest of his life it was only half of his normal diet. Some time later, Rāma-candra left Puri to the great relief of everybody.

All this time, however, Caitanya was as happy as usual. The day was spent in visiting the Jagannātha temple, *nāma-saṁkīrtana* and ecstatic dances; at night he sat with Dāmodar Svarūp and Rāmānanda enjoying their discussion on subtle theories of *rasa*. Crowds gathered in front of his house, eager for a *darśana* of the Master; he came out and asked them to utter the name of Kṛṣṇa.

One day some men reported to Caitanya that, Gopī-nāth was being tortured and would be executed very soon. Gopī-nāth was the younger brother of Rāmānanda, Caitanya's constant companion. He had defaulted in his payment of the due to the King, and had tried to settle it by giving the King some very good horses. The King had sent an expert to value the horses, and Gopī-nāth had

mocked at the latter's physical deformity. So the expert undervalued the horses, and on a false charge had got an order issued for Gopī-nāth's execution.

Caitanya was not moved in the least; on the contrary he remarked that Gopī-nāth should have paid his taxes duly, and his failure to do so must have been due to his immoral character. Then another man came and reported that Vāṇī-nāth's family—presumably including Rāmānanda—had been arrested. Caitanya merely replied: 'What can I do? The King naturally wants his revenue to be paid.' Then Dāmodar Svarūp and other companions came and appealed to Caitanya to intervene, since Rāmānanda and his entire family were so closely attached to him. This time Caitanya lost his temper and said: 'So you desire that I go to the King and beg his favour. I am a *sannyāsin* worth five *gaṇḍās*, why should the King make me a gift of 2 lakhs of *kāhan*,[14] even if I were to beg?' At this time another man came with the information that the execution was imminent. Caitanya said: 'I am a beggar, I cannot do anything. If you want to save Gopī-nāth, go and pray to Jagannātha, who can do anything.'

Then Hari-candan Mahāpātra went and made a representation to the King on Gopī-nāth's behalf. He pointed out that, even if Gopī-nāth were executed the King would not get his dues. The King agreed and stayed Gopī-nāth's execution.

But Caitanya was extremely annoyed. When Kāśī Miśra came to see him, he complained: 'I am being so much disturbed here that I feel that I should go away to Ālālnāth. Bhavānanda's is a family of officials, and they spend the King's money on themselves. How can the King be blamed if he demands his money? So he put Gopī-nāth on the rack and four times they came and disturbed me with this news. I am a *sannyāsin* and must reside at a secluded spot. Today Jagannātha has saved him; who will save him if he defaults again? The discussion of such mundane topics is extremely annoying, and I do not think that I should remain here.'

With great difficulty Kāśī Miśra persuaded Caitanya to stay at Puri, and returned home where Pratāparudra came a little later. It was Pratāparudra's custom to come to his preceptor Kāśī Miśra's house every day of his stay at Puri and massage the latter's legs. That day while he was engaged in massaging, Kāśī Miśra told him about Caitanya's reactions to Gopī-nāth's affairs. Pratāparudra readily proposed that he would give up his claim, but Kāśī Miśra pointed out that Caitanya did not want him to forego his revenue. Pratāparudra then requested Kāśī Miśra to tell the Master that

Bhavānanda and his sons were very dear to him, implying that no harm would befall Gopī-nāth. He released Gopī-nāth, wrote off the amount due from him, and after warning him not to default again, doubled his salary.

This news depressed Caitanya. When Kāśī Miśra came he said: 'Kāśī Miśra, what have you done. You have made me accept a favour from the King.' Kāśī Miśra pointed out that the King did not want Caitanya to know that he was writing off the amount due from Gopī-nāth. This satisfied Caitanya. In the meantime, Bhavānanda and his five sons came there to express their gratitude to the Master. Gopī-nāth fell at his feet and begged that he might also retire like his brothers Rāmānanda and Vāṇī-nāth. Caitanya discouraged him, but at the same time warned him not to spend the King's money for his personal purpose.

Then Hari-dās died.[15] He was getting old and was no longer capable of reciting the name of Kṛṣṇa 300,000 times a day as was his lifelong habit. Caitanya requested him to decrease the number. In reply Hari-dās said: 'Though born a Muslim, due to your favour, I have been honoured by *brāhmaṇas*. Now I have only one desire left. You are going to finish your *līlā;* that I do not want to see. Permit me to leave this world before you.' Caitanya said: 'Hari-dās, Kṛṣṇa will grant you all your desires. But I feel happy when in the company of you all; it is not proper that you should leave me.' But Hari-dās insisted.

Next morning, Caitanya came to see Hari-dās with all his companions. Hari-dās bowed to him and to the other *vaiṣṇavas*. Then Caitanya asked: 'Hari-dās, how are you?' Hari-dās replied: 'Master, you are merciful.' Then Caitanya and his companions began *saṁkīrtana*. They surrounded Hari-dās in a circle, and Caitanya began to describe Hari-dās's great qualities; all the *vaiṣṇavas* bowed at his feet. This time Hari-dās did not prevent them. He then sat facing the Master, and for sometime held his feet in his bosom fixing his eyes on the latter's face. He took dust from the Master's feet and rubbed it all over his body. Then he began to recite the name, 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya', as tears flowed from his eyes; with a final cry of 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya' his pious soul left the mortal frame.

As the assembled *vaiṣṇavas* began to shout 'Hare Kṛṣṇa! Hare Kṛṣṇa!', Caitanya gathered Hari-dās's gaunt frame in his arms and began to dance, and danced for a long time. Then under the guidance of Dāmodar Svarūp, Hari-dās's body was taken to the sea shore, where it was bathed in the sea. He was then given a sand-burial

amidst *saṁkīrtana*. Caitanya himself spread the sand, and later built a platform to mark the place.

After the burial service was over, Caitanya bathed in the sea and came to the main gate of Jagannātha temple. There he spread his outer garment and begged food from a merchant. They gladly gave whatever they had, and soon there was enough to feed the multitude, which had been collected for the occasion. Caitanya himself served them.

These incidents broke the tenor of his life now; more and more he immersed himself in devotional ecstasies. The annual visit of Bengali pilgrims had the effect of diverting his mind to normal level. To them he said: 'You come here every year to see me heedless of the strain of this long journey. Even so I cannot ask you not to come, for I feel happy in your company. I have asked Nityānanda to stay in Bengal, still he comes. Advaitācarya comes out of affection for me, I am bound to him by ties of love. You all take so much trouble to see me, while I am all the time sitting here. I do not know how to repay your kindness. I am a *sannyāsin;* I have no wealth save this body which I dedicate to you. Sell it where you will.' The Master's words brought tears to all eyes. They left after about a week, and possibly were destined to see him only once more.

1. There are reasons to believe that Caitanya was worshipped as a deity during his lifetime. Possibly the worship started about this time. If Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj has arranged these incidents chronologically, then these incidents took place within two years of Caitanya's return from Vṛndāvana, that is between 1516-1518. We may add here that Vijaya-Kṛṣṇa Gosvāmin, a famous saint of modern Bengal, has said that Rāma-Kṛṣṇa appeared to him in person at Dacca, while actually living at Calcutta. *LP*. II, *Guru-bhāv Uttar*, p. 220; *Ṭhakurer Divyabhāv o Narendranāth*, p. 359.
2. Caitanya took only one meal a day.
3. His name was Hari-dās; but in order to avoid confusion with the great Muslim devotee, he is referred to as *Choṭa* (junior) Hari-dās. He was Caitanya's favourite singer.
4. A monk of Caitanya's sect is called a *vairāgin*.
5. 'A man has to bear the consequences of his action.' The CC does not state whether the news of *Choṭa*-Hari-dās's death was reported to Caitanya or not. But we think it is implied in the manner the incident is related.
6. This Dāmodar should be distinguished from Dāmodar Svarūp.
7. *Gosvāmin* means 'one who has conquered his senses' (*indriya=go*).
8. Rūp and Sanātan were as good *brāhmaṇas* as any, but they had served under a Muslim; hence they considered themselves as defiled and stayed with Muslim Hari-dās. Caitanya approved this self-abnegation.
9. An annual *melā* is held at Pānihāṭi to celebrate this occasion. Rāma-Kṛṣṇ's last public appearance was at this *melā;* his cancer had already started and the exertion which he underwent at this *melā* by dancing for a long time, forced him to take to bed. *LP*. II. *Ṭhākurer Divyabhāv o Narendrenāth*, pp. 267-78; and p. 284.

10. Govardhana-*śilā* is a kind of Śālagrāma, which non-*brāhmaṇas* may not worship even among the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas,* though such practice is sanctioned in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* (I. V. 450-51) as well as in the commentary ascribed to Sanātana Gosvāmin.
11. '*Svāmin*' means 'husband'; here it stands for Śrīdhara Svāmin, the great commentator of the *Bh.P.* Vallabha used the word as a pun, and Caitanya took it up.
12. For a discussion of the historicity of Vallabha's meeting with Caitanya, see appendix to this chapter.
13. Followers of Vallabhācārya usually worship Bālā-Gopāla while Caitanya's followers usually worship Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa; for a discussion of Caitanya's influence on Vallabha see appendix to this chapter.
14. This was the amount involved.
15. Hari-dās alone among his principal followers died during Caitanya's lifetime.

Appendix

Chapter XIX

Caitanya and Vallabhācārya

Scholars are of divided opinion about the historicity of the *CC*'s description of Caitanya's meetings with Vallabha. There is no doubt, however, that Vallabha went to Puri and met Caitanya there, for it is related not only in the *CC*, but in the texts of Vallabha's sect as well. According to the latter, Vallabha and Caitanya started for Puri at the same time (from Allahabad) but while Caitanya returned through the forest, Vallabha came by the regular route, and arrived later. The story relates that, Caitanya told Vallabha that, elephants had attacked him in the forest, but he was saved by *Jagannātha*.[1]

It would not be surprising if Vallabha had come to Puri to establish his own views, but failed on account of the strong position which Caitanya had created for his views. It should be noted that the *CC* does not give any description, nor even refer to any learned disputation between Vallabha and Caitanya. The *CC's* description shows that Caitanya paid scant regard to Vallabha on account of the latter's haughty attitude. This conforms to Caitanya's famous dictum, namely, *tṛṇād api sunīcena,* ('a *vaisnava* should be lower that the lowest in humility',) a quality which he preferred almost to any other. On the other hand, Vallabha was trained to dispute from an incredibly early age, and had received high honours from the Vijayanagara emperor for defeating his opponents in debate.

As regards the commentary on the *Bh.P.*, the *CC* does not say that Vallabha destroyed the commentary. It merely records Caitanya's statement eulogizing Śrīdhara's commentary; the *CC* does not record Vallabha's reply, if indeed he made any. But it is a remarkable fact that, Vallabha did not finish his commentary on the *Bh.P.* According to his sect, Vallabha started writing the commentary on the *Bh.P.* after his return from Puri, but then God called him, and he left the world.[2] Does it indicate that Vallabha was rewriting his commentary? As for Śrīdhara's commentary, it may be noted that, even now it is the most popular commentary on the *Bh.P.*

It has been pointed out that later Sanātan and Jīv wrote commentaries on the *Bh.P.*, and they differed from Śrīdhara on many points, wherefore, Caitanya could not have possibly said that, 'he who does not follow (Śrīdhara) Svāmin is a harlot.' Firstly, the fact that Sanātan wrote a commentary on the *Bh.P.* shows that he was bound to differ from Śrīdhara, otherwise there would hardly have been any point in writing a new commentary. Secondly, this could not have been unknown to Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj, yet he has recorded Caitanya's statement mentioned above. Though Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj was old and partly infirm when he wrote the last part of the *CC.*, we do not think that he had lost all common sense; and in any case there were any

number of men at Vṛndāvana who could have pointed out this *faux pas,* if indeed it was one. Therefore, we have to admit that Caitanya had either made this statement, or that there was a genuine tradition to this effect. Raghu-nāth Dās, one of the Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins,* from whom Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj got many materials for writing the *CC.* might have been present on the occasion; at any rate he was then at Puri.

Finally, it may be noted that from the accounts of Vallabha's sect as given by Mr. Parekh, Vallabha started for Puri with Caitanya, and after his return to Adel started writing his commentary, but could not complete it on account of his untimely death. There must be something wrong in this chronology; the CC's chronology is better. However, Vallabha introduced the worship of Bāla-Gopāla and He is the principal deity of the sect, but Rādhā is worshipped although unobtrusively. Here also it is possible to see Caitanya's influence on Vallabha. Caitanya's influence is, however, more perceptible on Vallabha's son and spiritual successor, Viṭṭhalanātha (1518-1588) who studied *Nyāya* in Navadvīpa.[3] Later Viṭṭhalanātha extolled Rādhā in two of his works, namely, the *Svāminīy-āṣṭaka* and the *Svāminī-stotra* and several other minor *stotras.* Moreover, it has been suggested, not without reason, that the terms *Mahāprabhu* used later for Vallabha, and *Gosvāmin* for Viṭṭhala were borrowed from the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas,* who invariably referred to Caitanya as *Mahāprabhu* and his principal followers as *gosvāmins.*[4] In 1573, the harmonious relation between Vallabha's and Caitanya's followers was ruptured on account of the former's taking forcible possession of Śrī-Nāthji's temple at Gokula, which, it appears from the accounts of Vallabha's sect, belonged originally to the Bengalis.[5] Possibly this was the image installed by Mādhavendra Purī, who had engaged Bengali *brāhmaṇas* as priests. (*CC.* II. iv. 34-102). The *Caurāsī Vaiṣṇavankī vārtā* also states: '*Aur pratham sevā Śrī-Nāthjīkī Baṁgālī karte* (p. 314). Vallabha, according to the same authority, had made a gift of diamond ornaments to this deity. This also shows Vallabha's attachment for Caitanya. However, Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj was most probably a witness of the forcible occupation of the temple by Vallabha's followers. This explains as to why he has throughout referred to Vallabha as Vallabha-bhaṭṭa, and never as Vallābhācārya, as well as his omission to refer to or even hint at Vallabha's pre-eminent position as a great *vaiṣṇava* teacher.

1. M. C. Parekh: *Sri Vallabhacharya,* pp. 160-61.
2. Ibid, p. 178.
3. *Sahasrākṣa* quoted by S. N. Das Gupta, op. cit., IV, p. 377.
4. M. C. Parekh, op. cit., pp. 284-86. *Mahā-prabhu* in a Sanskrit compound, but is more in keeping with Oriya usage (c.f. *Mahā-pātra*) than Bengali. Possibly this honorific title was first used by Caitanya's Oriya disciples.
5. *The details of this unsavoury episode is given in Caurāsī Vaiṣṇavankī Vārtā, written by Gokul-nāth, fourth son of Viṭṭhalanātha, (Bombay, 1958), pp. 314-320. According to this account, Rūp and Sanātan were living at this time and they protested against this high-handedness.*

CHAPTER XX

ANTYA-LĪLĀ (ii)

The last days

At the beginning of the *Madhya-līla* (CC. II.i.46) and at the end of the *Antya-līlā* (CC. III. xx. 60) Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj has stated that the last twelve years of Caitanya's life were spent in a mood of acute emotional distress, like that of Rādhā when Kṛṣṇa left her. Later he has given the details (CC. III. xiv. 10-13). At the end of the *Madhya-līlā* (*CC*. II. xxv 193) he states that the last eighteen years of Caitanya's life were spent in enjoyment of *saṁkīrtana* with his followers. Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj's first statement, mentioned above, has led many scholars to assume that for the last twelve years of his life he lived continually in a state of devotional ecstasy, that is, in an intemperate state of divine love (*divyonmāda*).

There is no doubt that Caitanya's ecstatic love became more and more poignant as the days passed, and at this period, he adopted the emotional attitude of Rādhā. But there is hardly any reason to believe that he was never in his normal state. He still took part in the chariot-festival, danced before the chariot, and as before cleaned the Guṇḍica-*bāḍī* with his followers.[1] Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj evidently intended by the earlier statements (CC. II. i. 46 and III. xiv. 10-13) to indicate a general state, and not a precise description of the entire period of twelve years.

The fact is that Caitanya's life after he returned from Vṛndāvana was devoid of any striking event, and in the *Antya-līlā* (the last part of the *CC*.), the author has to fall back on the incidents from the lives of Caitanya's followers, with which the latter is not always directly concerned.

It appears that Caitanya always followed a strict routine. Till the end, he got up very early in the morning, while it was still dark, and went to the temple of Jagannātha. So long Hari-dās was alive, Caitanya met him on his way home, but after the former's death returned home. Then he engaged himself in reciting the name of Kṛṣṇa, for several hours.[2] The recitation of the Name was so dear to him, that he did not accept food from anyone who did not recite it for at least 100,000 times a day.

Since he became a *sannyāsin* he observed great austerity in his life. As a youth he enjoyed good food, but as we have seen both the quality and quantity of food were cut down drastically due to the criticism of Rāma-candra Purī. During the last years, he lost all taste for food, and ate as a matter of habit.[3]

Gradually, however, his health began to breakdown, probably as much due to loss of sleep as to lack of nourishment. For, in the later part of his life it was usual for him to spend the whole night in devotion or in a trance. He used to sleep in a cubby hole, and lay down not on an usual bed, but one made of *śaralā*, that is, the ribs of plantain leaves. This was very painful when he became emaciated, so his companion, Jagadānanda, prepared a cotton mattress and a pillow, and dyed them with ochre colour. Caitanya was annoyed when he saw this innovation, and asked his servant as to who gave it. When he was told Jagadānanda's name, he calmed down, but asked Govinda to remove it. Dāmodar Svarūp mildly protested, pointing out that Jagadānanda would be hurt if the Master refused his gift. Caitanya replied sarcastically: 'Then bring a bedstead also. Jagadānanda wants me to enjoy wordly pleasure. But I am a *sannyāsin,* the bare earth is my bed. For me to use a mattress and a pillow would be most inappropriate.' Ultimately they clipped the plantain leaves very finely, and covered these with two pieces of the Master's outer garments, and with difficulty induced him to sleep on this.

Caitanya never used any articles of luxury. Once Jagadānanda brought from Bengal some lovely sandalwood oil, and instructed Govinda to massage the Master with it. When Govinda brought it for his use on the plea that sandal wood oil cures various ailments Caitanya said: 'A *sannyāsin* has no right to use oil, and on the top of it, this is scented; hence most objectionable. Go and present this oil to Jagannātha temple. They will burn lamps with it, and Jagadānanda's trouble will be compensated.' When Jagadānanda heard this he kept quiet. About ten days later, Govinda again represented that Jagadānanda wanted the Master to use the oil. This time Caitanya lost his temper and said: 'Appoint a masseur also. So, I have become a monk to enjoy pleasures of life, so that I may ruin myself and become a laughing stock. Wouldn't people accuse me of being an immoral *sannyāsin* if they find that I have scented my body?' Next day when Jagadānanda came, Caitanya explained to him mildly that being a *sannyāsin,* he could not use the scented oil, which might be sent to the Temple for use in the lamps. Unable to suppress his fury any longer, Jagadānanda said, 'I haven't brought any oil', and taking the jug of oil threw it in the

courtyard. That was the end so far as the oil was concerned, for the earthenware jug broke into pieces. But the incident does not end here, and shows the softer side of Caitanya's character.

Jagadānanda went straight to his house and lay down on his bed. After he had remained thus for two days, Caitanya came to his house very early in the morning of the third day on his way to the Temple and shouted: 'Paṇḍit get up, today I shall have my meals with you. Now I am going to the Temple and shall return by noon.'

Therefore Jagadānanda had to get up; and he prepared an elaborate meal. Caitanya came in time and asked Jagadānanda to sit with him for the meal. By this time Jagadānanda's anger had ebbed, probably because Caitanya had not objected to so many dishes and delicacies. So he meekly requested the Master to eat first, assuring him that he would certainly take his food, but after the Master had finished his. As this was customary, Caitanya began to eat and remarked: 'How wonderful things taste when cooked in a wrath. This must be due to Kṛṣṇa's gift to you. Kṛṣṇa himself wanted to eat, hence he made you cook so well.' In reply Jagadānanda began to ply him with more and more food and Caitanya, out of fear, continued to gorge himself, lest Jagadānanda should again become enraged, and start another fast. Ultimately, when it was impossible to swallow anything more, he meekly said: 'Jagadānanda, you have overfed me at least ten fold; now please relieve me.'

Then the meal ended, but Caitanya after washing his mouth came and sat there insisting Jagadānanda to take his lunch. Jagadānanda requested him to go and have rest, and assured him that he would eat. Caitanya then returned leaving Govinda to come and report to him, after Jagadānanda had taken his food. As Govinda massaged Caitanya's legs at this time, Jagadānanda sent Govinda after Caitanya. After Govinda had massaged him, Caitanya sent him to find out whether Jagadānanda had eaten or not. On Govinda's return with the happy news, Caitanya retired for his midday rest.[4]

This incident took place before the affair of the mattress and pillow, and is related here as a convenient place to illustrate Caitanya's repugnance for luxury, and his love for his companions.[5]

A short time after the mattress and the pillow affair, Jagadānanda went to Mathura and Vṛndāvana with the Master's permission. Some time after his return, Raghu-nāth Bhaṭṭa, the son of Tapan Miśra, Caitanya's host at Varanasi, came over to Puri. Caitanya received him very cordially and made arrangements for his stay at Puri, and introduced him to Dāmodar Svarūp and other com-

panions. Caitanya sometimes accepted Raghu-nāth's invitation, and the latter proved to be a master in culinary art. After eight months, Caitanya permitted him to return to Varanasi, forbidding him to marry. For the next four years, Raghu-nāth stayed at Varanasi studying the *Bhāgavata* with *vaiṣṇava* scholars. Then his parents died and he came to Puri again, and stayed with Caitanya for another eight months. Then Caitanya sent him to Vṛndāvana, where he was trained up by Rūp and Sanātan. Raghu-nāth was the third of the famous six Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins*.[6]

In modern phrase, Caitanya's organizational set up was by this time complete. The practical side of missionary activities was carried on by Nityānanda in Bengal; Advait was also there, but he was old and the main burden fell on Nityānanda. In Orissa, Caitanya had a host of followers including the King, and five great poets, namely, Ananta, Acyuta, Yaśovanta, Balarāma and Jagannātha, collectively known as *Pañca-sakhā* (five friends).[7] Rūp and Sanātan were restoring the glory of Vṛndāvana, so dear to Caitanya's heart; their great literary activities were yet to begun,[8] but the ground work was laid when Rūp was at Puri and had started on his *Vidagdha-Mādhava* and *Lalita-Mādhava*, though he may have completed them later.

While the followers were discharging their duties with utmost diligence, the Master began to experience with deepening fervour the grief of the *gopīs* after Kṛṣṇa's departure from Vṛndāvana. He began to lament in anguish even as Rādhā had piteously cried on meeting Uddhava. In this state of spiritual ecstasy he began to pass his nights, and sometimes even days.

One night he dreamt of Kṛṣṇa dancing with Rādhā surrounded by the *gopīs*; he was happy in the feeling that he was united with Kṛṣṇa. It was a rude shock when he was awakened by Govinda, for the hour was getting late. Govinda had performed his duty, but Caitanya felt sad.

He went to the Jagannātha temple that morning as usual and stood in his appointed place, the Garuḍa pillar, for the *darśana* of the Lord. An Oriya woman, unable to see Jagannātha, in that crowd, climbed on the pillar, and rested one foot on the Master's shoulder. Govinda shouted at her, but the Master intervened: '*Ādivaśyā*, don't shout at her; let her see Jagannātha as long as she would.[9]' The woman, however, immediately got down, and fell at the Master's feet. Caitanya exclaimed: 'Jagannātha has not blessed me with this woman's passionate longing for Him. Her body, mind, and soul were so absorbed in Him, that she failed to

notice that she was standing on my shoulder! She indeed is blessed; let me worship at her feet that I too may have her intensity of devotion.'

Sadly the Master returned home, and there sat down alone like the lonely Rādhā, and began to trace lines on the floor with his finger nails.[10] Flowing tears blinded his eyes, 'Alas', he cried 'after union with Kṛṣṇa, I have again lost Him. Who has taken my Kṛṣṇa? Where am I?' In his trance, he beamed with pleasure; but when he regained his normal senses, he felt as if he had lost his treasure, and sang and danced in fury. It was only through force of habit, that he went mechanically through the actions of bathing and eating.

The ten forms of love-sickness[11] possessed him day and night, denying him any rest. At night he unburdened himself like Rādhā to her friends—to Dāmodar Svarūp and Rāmānanda. To calm him down, Rāmānanda recited Sanskrit verses, and Dāmodar Svarūp sang Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* songs. By midnight his consciousness somewhat regained, they put him to bed and while Rāmānanda left for his home, Dāmodar Svarūp lay down with Govinda at the Master's door. It was his habit to chant Kṛṣṇa's name loudly throughout the night. Noticing his silence one night, Dāmodar Svarūp opened the door, and the intervening two others; the Master's room was empty. Frantically they began to search for him with torches, and was relieved to find him a little north of the main Temple gate.

When they came near the Master, they were horrified. There he lay, his body stretched to about 8 to 9 feet in length; each arm and leg was about four feet and a half in length of bare skin and bones; feet, neck, and waist were hanging loose held only by about six inches of taut skin. Not only he was unconscious, his breathing had stopped; foaming at the mouth, his eyes were fixed in a deathly stare.

Led by Dāmodar Svarūp they all began to din the name of Kṛṣṇa in his ears. After a long time, the sound of 'Kṛṣṇa' reached his centre of consciousness and he shouted '*Hari-bol*'. As he regained his consciousness, his body regained its normal shape and proportion.[12] He was surprised to find himself there, and confessed that he did not remember anything; only Kṛṣṇa appeared and vanished with lightning speed. By this time it was almost morning, so Caitanya had his bath and went to the Temple.

Another day, on his way to the sea, he looked at the Caṭak hillock; suddenly it took on the appearance to him of the Govardhana hill of Vṛndāvana. Reciting a verse from the *Bhāgavata* (X. xxi. 18)

he spurted towards it leaving the astounded Govinda far behind.
Govinda's shrieks attracted a number of devotees, but after covering
some distance, the Master suddenly became numb. Each pore of
his skin swelled like a pimple, on which the bristling hairs pre-
sented the appearance of *kadamba* flower. Blood oozed from the
pores and a throttling sound came out; he was unable to pronounce
a single syllable. Tears filled his eyes, and his complexion became
white like a conch shell. Then a quivering burst over his frame
like a tempest on the bosom of the sea, and he fell on the ground.

Govinda ran up to him and began to minister to his needs.
Dāmodar Svarūp and others began to perform *saṁkīrtana* very
loudly, while others began to pour streams of cold water on him.
After some time he got up crying *'Hari-bol'*. All of them greeted
his return to consciousness with fervent cries of *'Hari-bol'*. The
Master was surprised; he asked Dāmodar Svarūp: 'Who has brought
me here from Govardhana? I discovered Kṛṣṇa's *līlā* at Govardhana
There was He sitting on the hillock playing on His flute while the
cows gazed around. Then Rādhā came. Her loveliness is beyond
description. Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā entered a cave, and her friends
asked me to pick flowers. Just at this time you all made this din,
and brought me down here. Why have you brought me away from
them? Only to make me miserable? At last I found out Kṛṣṇa,
and saw his *līlā*, but could not enjoy for long.' So saying he began
to cry, and his companions also burst into tears.

In the meantime Paramānanda Purī and Brahmānanda Bhāratī
came to see him. The presence of this venerable pair had its effect,
and Caitanya had to return to normal state to pay them respect.[13]

As Kṛṣṇa-das Kavirāj has stated later, (*CC*. III, xv. 3-5; xviii, 74)
sometimes, the Master was totally absorbed in an emotional ecstasy
(*bhāva-magna*), sometimes he was semi-conscious (*ardha-bāhya*
sphūrti) and sometimes he was fully conscious (*bāhya-sphūrti*).
Like a potter's wheel, which goes on revolving even after
the potter has stopped moving it, the Master bathed, ate and went
to the Temple almost by involuntary effort.

Several minor incidents of this nature are described in the *CC*,
all of which depict Caitanya carried away by the emotion of the
Gopīs or of Rādhā. His constant companions at this period were
Dāmodar Svarūp and Rāmānanda, who recited or sang mostly from
the *Bh.P.* or the *Gīta-Govinda*. During this period, he often mani-
fested all the eight *sāttvika-bhāvas* and the thirty-three *vyābhi-
cārī* or *sañcārī-bhāvas*.[14]

It was during this period that, Kavi-karṇapūra, then a boy of seven, came with his father to see the Master. Apparently Caitanya was in a normal state, and he asked the boy to utter the name of Kṛṣṇa. But the boy remained quiet. This surprised Caitanya, and he exclaimed: 'I have succeeded in inducing everyone to chant the name of Kṛṣṇa; but this boy fails me.' Dāmodar Svarūp laughed at this and said 'You have possibly given him the Kṛṣṇa-*mantra* already; therefore I think, he is not pronouncing but chanting it silently.[15] Next day Caitanya said: 'Puri-dās[16] say something'. And then Puri-dās recited a Sanskrit verse perfect in every detail.[17]

After four months the pilgrims returned to Bengal. Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj says (*CC*. III. xvi. 72): 'While with them, the Master retained his consciousness, now with their departure he became more unbalanced than ever.' Slight stimulus sent him into a trance, or made him exuberantly happy, or terribly depressed.

Thus days and nights sometimes were spent in raptures of religious experience and emotion. At night Dāmodar Svarūp sang the songs of Vidyāpati, Caṇḍīdāsa, and Jayadeva, while Rāmānanda recited Sanskrit verses. Sometimes Caitanya read his own compositions as if in a delirium. Once after seeing him to bed, Dāmodar Svarūp and Rāmānanda left. Govinda was lying across the door. Caitanya as usual was chanting loudly; suddenly there was silence. Govinda went inside; though all the three doors were closed, the Master was not there. While chanting, he had suddenly heard the music of Kṛṣṇa's flute, and in a trance left the house, apparently through the closed doors. Govinda called Dāmodar Svarūp and others, and as before, found him lying near the main gate of the Temple. But this time he looked like a tortoise, for his limbs seemed to have receded into his trunk; he was foaming at the mouth, bristling and weeping, lying unconscious. The cows were smelling him. A long time passed, still he did not return to his senses, so they carried him to his house, and there too it took a long time for him to regain consciousness. Then his limbs regained their normal position. He asked: 'Where have you brought me? I followed the music and reached Vṛndāvana. There Kṛṣṇa was playing on the flute, and then Rādhā came. They went to the grove, and I followed them. He was pleasantly talking with the *gopīs* and there was merriment on all sides; just then you forcibly dragged me here.' They consoled him by reading from the *Bhāgavata*.

During the moon lit nights of autumn, Caitanya used to move from one garden to another with his companions. The songs of *rāsa-līlā (Bh.P.* X) used to be sung; sometimes he also sang or

danced in rapturous joy, and then overcome with emotional fervour fell on the ground.

On one such night, after repeating the verses describing the *rāsa-līlā*, Caitanya began to recite: 'Then in the company of the *gopīs*, and wishing to restore themselves after the fatigue (or sports) Kṛṣṇa, entered into the Yamunā even as the leading elephant of a herd, accompanied by the she-elephants, plunges in the water after bursting the dams; Kṛṣṇa's garlands were squeezed by (the pressure of the) *gopīs*' embrace, and His garlands tinged with the *kuṁkuma* from the *gopīs*' breasts, attracted bees, which followed Him, Who shone like a *gandharva*.' (*Bh.P.* X. xxxiii, 22).

As he recited this verse, his eyes were suddenly attracted by the moon-lit sea, which appeared to him as the river Yamunā (Jumna). With a bound, he left his companions and ran into the sea. Soon he lost consciousness and was carried up to Konarak.

Caitanya had run so fast that before his companions realized what was happening, he had vanished into the night. They began to search for him in all temples and gardens, the Guṇḍicā-*bāḍī*, Narendra-lake, that is all possible places. When he was nowhere to be found someone decided that he had finally disappeared. The rest, however, divided themselves into two parties and proceeded along the shore. Then they came across a fisherman who, shouting 'Hari! Hari!' was dancing, while he laughed and wept. They hailed this peculiar fisherman, and Dāmodar Svarūp asked him, if he had seen anyone, and the reason for his strange conduct.

The fisherman replied that he had not seen any person, but had caught a corpse in his net; he thought it was a large fish, so got it out carefully from his net, but as soon as he touched the body some spirit had entered him, and made him shiver, weep, bristle and choked his voice. The body of the spirit was about five to seven cubits (7 to 10 feet) tall, limbs loose, eyes turned up; sometimes it emitted a peculiar noise, at others it was quiet. The fisherman was frightened to death and wailed his misfortune.

Dāmodar Svarūp cured his malady by reciting a charm and touching him on his head. He then told the fisherman that the body was not that of an evil spirit, but of Caitanya. The fisherman replied: 'I have seen the Master so many times; he can't possibly be this mis-shaped form.' Dāmodar Svarūp explained his physical transformation under emotion. Then the fisherman took them where the Master was lying exactly as the fisherman had described him. As they could not carry him to Puri from Konarak, they changed his wet clothes and began to chant the name of Kṛṣṇa very

loudly. After some time, Caitanya reached the conscious level. He explained that, he had gone to see Kṛṣṇa's water sport.

Even now, however, he had not forgotten his duty toward his mother. When Jagadānanda was going to Nadiā, he requested him to beg his mother's forgiveness on his behalf. As Kṛṣṇa's-dās Kavirāj says, 'the Master was the crest-jewel of sons devoted to their mothers, and even as a *sannyāsin* always served her'. As usual, Caitanya brought the best *prasādas* from the Jagannātha temple and sent it to his mother and the devotees.

Jagadānanda met all the friends at Navadvīpa. When he met Advait, the latter recited an enigmatic verse and asked him to repeat it to the Master. The verse said:

'Tell the Bāül—"People have become Bāül";
Tell the Bāül—"Rice does not sell in the market";
Tell the Bāül—"Work has lost its intensity";
Tell the Bāül—"Thus spoke the Bāül".'

Jagadānanda laughed when he heard this puzzle, but when on his return he reported it to the Master, he merely said with a smile: 'As he commands', and fell silent. When Dāmodar Svarūp asked him the meaning of the enigma, Caitanya said: 'Advaitācārya is very well versed in the ritualistic scriptures; according to them, one prays to God to appear, for His presence is necessary for worshipping Him; then they keep Him for some time and worship Him; and when the worship is over they immerse Him. I do not know the meaning of the enigmatic verse.'

From that day, Caitanya's emotional fervour doubled in intensity. One day at night he rubbed his face so violently on the floor, that blood began to flow. From that day, a man called Śaṁkara used to sleep at his feet.[18]

In this state Caitanya one day explained the importance of 'Name' (*nāma- māhātmya*) to Dāmodar Svarūp and Rāmānanda and explained some of the eight verses which he had composed in Sanskrit.

This is practically the last known event of Caitanya's life.[19]

1. *CC.* III, xii. 60. This is the last description of the pilgrimage and the car-festival in the CC. There is reference to one more pilgrimage (III. xvi. 59-70) but that is while referring to young Kavi-karṇapūra's ancedote (see above p. 243). Kṛṣṇ-dās Kavirāj avoided repeating the same incident.
2. *MC.* 594. It takes 2 to 2½ hours to recite the nam of Kṛṣṇa 100,000 times. Ibid.
3. *'deher svabhāve kare snān bhojan kṛtya' CC.* III. xiv. 37.
4. These massages were necessary particularly after a dance. There is a description that, one day after dancing during the chariot festival, Caitanya was so exhausted that he was not even able to move away from the door where he had laid down himself. In order to massage his legs Govinda had to step

over his body. When Govinda represented his difficulty, Caitanya said that he was unable to move an inch. (*CC.* III. x, 80-99). This was also a test to check Govinda's intelligence; but Govinda acquitted himself most creditably.

5. For obvious reasons, *CC's* account of this period is not very chronological; in order to complete the narration of one event, such as Raghunāth Bhaṭṭa's meeting with Caitanya, incidents which took six years are narrated as consecutive happening. (*CC.* III. xiii, 99-129), and if one takes into consideration the reference to Raghu-nāth's subsequent activities in Vṛndāvana, it covers several decades. But this was inevitable.

   It is interesting to note, that according to the rules laid down in the *Pātimokkha,* the Buddhist monks were forbidden among other things the use of unguents and high beds. Evidently this tradition was handed down through Śaṁkara.

6. Of the other three *gosvāmins* of Vṛndāvana, Raghu-nāth Dās remained at Puri till the death of Dāmodar Svarūp, which took place a few years after Caitanya's; Raghu-nāth Dās then went to Vṛndāvana and joined the *gosvāmins.* Jīva Gosvāmin joined at about this time. About Gopāla Bhaṭṭa no satisfactory account is available; see S. K. De, op. cit., pp. 125-143.

7. *Pañca-sakhās* were probably Buddhists converted by Caitanya. The faith preached by them differs considerably from Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism; for details, *MC.* pp. 492-96.

8. The greatest phase of the creative activity of Rūpa and Sanātana Gosvāmin probably began in 1533, the year of Caitanya's death; S. K. De, op. cit., pp. 163-64.

9. *Ādivaśyā* is most probably the Bengali version of a Tamil word, which Caitanya had picked up during his south Indian tour. He frequently addressed Govinda by this term.

10. There are ten indications of absorption in thought of the beloved from whom a woman is separated; she sighs deeply, bends her head down, traces line on the grounds, becomes pale, loses sleep, laments, has increase in body temperature, becomes emaciated, sheds tears, and becomes extremely meek etc. For details see below Chapter XXV.

11. See above, note 10.

12. This has been described by Raghu-nāth Dās whose Sanskrit verse Kṛṣṇa-das Kavirāj quotes here. Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj again emphasizes that he believes this incident, because Raghu-nāth Dās who was with the Master, had told him. *CC.* III. xiv. 78.

13. Raghu-nāth Dās, who probably witnessed the incident, has also described it in a Sanskrit verse. *CC.* III. xiv. 133.

14. For explanation of the *bhāvas* see below Chapter XXV. For a similar account in Rāma-Kṛṣṇa's life see *LP.* I, *Sādhak-bhāv,* pp. 195-96; The Bhairavī *brāhmanī* who came to Rāma-Kṛṣṇa at this time diagnosed his so-called malady by comparing him to Caitanya; ibid, pp. 205; 209; *LP.* II, *Guru-bhāv, Uttar,* pp. 5-11.

15. A *mantra* should not be pronounced before others. Dāmodar Svarūp was joking; a boy of seven cannot be given a *mantra.*

16. Kavi-karṇapūra's name was Paramānanda, but Caitanya used to call him 'Puri-dās'.

17. See above p. 92.

18. He was selected because he was a very light-sleeper. Śaṁkara used to sleep with Caitanya's legs on his chest.

19. That is, according to the *CC,* and so far as the last part of Caitanya's life is concerned, the *CC* is the most authoritative of all the biographies. It is also in this part (*Antya-līlā*) that Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj is at his best as a poet; but it is practically impossible to translate him; for, Caitanya's sentiments, which are described here, are unknown to any non-Indian literature, and therefore there is no known idiom in which they can be rendered.

Appendix

Chapter xx

Passing Away

Caitanya's end is not described in any authoritative biography. Locan-dās says that on Sunday, the seventh *tithi* of Aṣāḍha at *tṛtīya prahara* (3 to 4 p.m.), Caitanya passed into the image of Jagannātha, and the priests shut for some time the gate of the temple against all enquiries.[1]

Locan is corroborated by Caitanya's Oriya biographers, namely, Acyutānanda, Divākara-dāsa and Īśvara-dāsa.[2]

Jayānanda, however, gives a more rational account:

'When dancing at the Vijayā of the Car festival in the month of Aṣāḍha, his left toe was suddenly pierced by a brick (lying on the road). When Advait left for Bengal, the Master secretly told him (of his coming disappearance). With all His followers He sported in the water of the Narendra tank (for the last time). On the sixth day of the moon, the pain in his toe grew very severe, and he was forced to take to his bed in the garden. Here He told the Paṇḍit Gosvāmin that he would leave (the world) next night at 10 o'clock. Celestial garlands of many-coloured flowers were thrown on Him from the unseen. Celestial singers (*vidyādharas*) began to dance on the highway. The gods began to cry out, "Bring the heavenly chariot!" The Master mounted into Viṣṇu's car with the figure of Garuḍa on its spire. His material body lay behind on the earth, while He went to Vaikuṇṭha (Viṣṇu's heaven). Many of His servants killed themselves by serpent-bite. Meteors and thunderbolts fell on the earth. At the news Nityānanda and Advaitācārya, Viṣṇupriyā and Śacī swooned away.... Puruṣottam and other servitors of the Master grew speechless at His departure.

'Nityānanda consoled the disciples and vowed before them, "We will keep the Name alive. We will make all men, down to the *caṇḍālas*, *vaiṣṇavas*. We will not differentiate (low) castes like the *caṇḍālas* or Muslims, but will give love and *bhakti* to them all and make them all dance (with us) at *kīrtan*....We will make the realms of Bengal and Orissa blessed." The *vaiṣṇavas* shouted applause at his words.'[3]

Apparently Jayānanda's description is not free from miraculous happenings, and his work also is, on the whole, marred by many mistakes; still he has given a plausible account and we may leave it at that.

It is generally held that Caitanya died in Śaka 1455 (1533) at the age of 48, and it has been calculated on the basis of the data given in the texts mentioned above, that he died on 31 Āṣāḍha, Śaka 1455,

probably 9 July 1533; his exact age on that day was 47 years 4 months and 10 days.[4]

However, D. C. Bhattacarya on the basis of some statements in Kavi-karṇapura's works have come to the conclusion that Caitanya died on 21 Jyeṣṭha Śaka 1414 (9 June, 1532) when he was nearly completing his 46th year (46 years, 11 months and a few days).[5]

For various reasons, it seems preferable to adhere to the former date, namely Śaka 1455, as the year of Caitanya's death.

1. Locan-dās, *Caitanya-maṁgala, Śeṣa-khaṇḍa*, pp. 210-11.
2. MC. pp. 271-72; 497. Acyuta-dāsa was Caitanya's contemporary and his followers. Divākara-dāsa, according to B. B. Majumdar, flourished in the middle of the 17th century. Īśvara-dāsa says he heard this story at Puri. His date is uncertain; B. B. Majumdar places him at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century.
3. Jayānanda: *Caitanya-maṁgala*, p. 150.
4. MC. p. 6. For a detailed discussion or circumstances surrounding Caitanya's death see, D. C. Sen, *Chaitanya and His Age*, pp. 259-265. But in the absence of any evidence, all conclusions are bound to be of a speculative nature. It may be stated here that, Caitanya's contemporary Vallabha is said to have disappeared in a blaze of glory while sitting at the Hanumān Ghāt, Varanasi. Madhva is said to have retired to Badarikāśrama where he is still living. About Śaṁkara and Rāmānuja it is said that they left their bodies by *yogic* process, and there is one tradition that Śaṁkara merged himself in the Śiva liṁga in the Paraśūrāma temple at Tricur; and though several traditions agree that he died through a *yogic* process, they differ as to the place of his death. It may be noted that Svami Sāradānanda has not described the end of Rāma-Kṛṣṇa. Probably such description is too painful for the author, and in any case, is of little account.
5. D. C. Bhattacharya: *Śrī Caitanyadev kon Śake antarhita han, Bhāratīya Anuśilan*, pp. 82-4.

CHAPTER XXI

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Caitanya most probably did not initiate anyone formally, therefore it may be said that, strictly speaking he had no disciple.[1] But as we have seen he had a very large following. We shall here give short biographical notes on some of the important followers. The list is arranged alphabetically, except for Nityānanda to emphasize his importance.

1. *Nityānanda.*

Nityānanda was born in the village Ekacakrā in the Birbhum District, about eight or ten years before Caitanya. His father was Hāḍāi Paṇḍit or Hāḍāi Ojhā (Upādhyāya), and his mother was Padmāvatī. At the age of twelve, he left his home with a *sannyāsin*, who begged the boy from his parents. (This was not an unusual custom). He thereafter toured all over India and met Mādhavendra, but was probably initiated by Mādhavendra's disciple Saṁkaraṣaṇa Purī. His first meeting with Caitanya has already been described.

Caitanya said on several occasions that there is no difference between him and Nityānanda. Some authentic information about Nityānanda is available in the *CBh.*

Nityānanda was an *avadhūta sannyāsin.* Usually *sannyāsins* are held to be of four types, namely, *kuṭīcaka, bahūdaka, haṁsa* and *parama-haṁsa,* each being superior to the preceding one. But the *Sannyāsopaniṣads* add one more class, namely *turīyātīt-āvadhūta.* They are particularly described in the *Nārada-parivājaka-, Turīyātīt-āvadhūta-,* and the *Bṛhad-avadhūt-opaniṣads.*[2]

Nothing is known of Nityānanda's ascetic life, but some of his peculiarities noticed after he joined Caitanya may have been due to his *avadhūta* training. For example, an *avadhūta* is described in the *Bṛhad-avadhūtopaniṣad;*[3] as, *sāmbaro vā digambaro vā,* and Nityānanda was sometimes seen naked. According to the *Turīyātīt-āvadhūt-opaniṣad,* an *avadhūta* has to give up *daṇḍa, kamaṇḍalu, kaṭi-sūtra, kaupīna, ācchādana* and become completely naked. But normally Nityānanda covered himself, and when he came to meet Caitanya, he had a *daṇḍa,* which he threw away a few days later. But there are some other qualities of an *avadhūta* mentioned in this Upaniṣad which agree with Nityānanda, namely, that an *avadhūta*

should burn his learning and scholarship (*sarva-vidyā-pāṇḍitya-prapañcaṁ bhaṣmī-kṛtya*);[4] it also states that an *avadhūta* must give up *varṇ-āśram-ācāraḥ*, that is caste regulations. Now, Advait many times said in jest, that, a *brāhmaṇa* should not sit down with Nityānanda at meals for the latter's improper conduct as an *avadhūta*; hence it appear that this joke may have had some basis. The description, rather the etymology of the word '*avadhūta*' as given in the *Avadhūta-Gītā*, seems to agree with Nityānanda:

The *Avadhūta-Gītā* describes an *avadhūta* as follows:

> *āśā-pāśa-vinirmukta ādi-madhy-ānta-nirmalaḥ*
> *ānande vartate nityam akāraṁ tasya lakṣaṇam*
>
> *vāsanā varjitā yena vaktavyaṁ ca nirāmayam*
> *vartamāneṣu varteta vakāraṁ tasya lakṣaṇam*
>
> *dhūli-dhūsara gātrāṇi dhūta-citto nirāmayaḥ*
> *dhāraṇā-dhyāna-nirmukto dhūkaras tasya lakṣaṇam*
>
> *tattva-cintā dhṛtā yena cintā-ceṣṭā-vivarjitaḥ*
> *tamo' haṁkāra-nirmuktas takāras tasya lakṣaṇam.*

Among Caitanya's followers, Nityānanda was the only trained *sannyāsin*, having spent his life in the company of *sannyāsins* since he was a boy of twelve. During about two decades of his life that he spent mostly travelling, he must have noticed various types of monastic organizations. This knowledge must have been very useful when he organized Caitanya's 'church', for there is no doubt that it was he who did it constantly travelling over Bengal. It seems that this part of his work was so important, that Caitanya had asked him not to come to Puri. But, as we have seen, he still came several times, probably to consult the Master.

Nityānanda is famous for having initiated Uddhāran Datta, a *baniā*; the celebrity of this event indicates that, this was probably the first time that, a *brāhmaṇa* initiated a *baniā*[5]. He is also reported to have initiated others without any distinction of caste.

It has often been stated that Caitanya and Nityānanda failed to establish a 'church'. Hence it is necessary to realize what a 'church' means.

According to a House of Lords decision, 'the identity of a religious community known as Church consists in the identity of its doctrines, creeds, confessions, formularies, and tests.'[6]

Delivering his judgment in this case Lord Halsbury observed: 'Speaking generally one would say that the identity of a religious community described as a Church must consist in the unity

of its doctrines. Its creeds, confessions, formularies, tests, and so forth are apparently indented to ensure the unity of the faith which its adherents profess, and certainly among all Christian Churches the essential idea of a creed or confession of faith appears to be the public acknowledgment of such and such religious views as the bond of union which binds them together as one Christian community.'

A more rigorous definition of Church was given in *Dill vs Watson* where it was stated: 'We but say to him, if you agree with us affix your signature to certain articles, or in some way modify your recognition of their truth; or if you disagree, withhold such signature or declaration. And we say of him, in the former case, that he *is*, and in the latter case that he *is not* of our religion. In the absence of such a test, our Establishment would not be a rock, cemented into solidity by harmonious uniformity of opinion, it would be a *mere incongruous* heap of, as it were, grains of sand, thrown together without being united, each of these intellectual and isolated grains differing from every other, and the whole forming a but nominally united while really unconnected mass; and reciprocal contradiction and dissension. . . . This indeed I should hold to be in the language of a late prelate, "a Church without a religion". '[7]

It will be seen that the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* undoubtedly form a 'Church' according to Lord Halsbury's definition, but not according to the judgment in *Dill vs Watson*.

Caitanya's ideas about a 'church' is not known; it has even been held that the Master did not favour the establishmest of a monastic order in his sect.[8] But there have always been Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇava* monks, known as *vairāgins*, though their origin is by no means clear. One can see in the *vairāgins* the influence of Nityānanda's *avadhūta* past, but in the absence of evidence it is not possible to arrive at definite conclusion.[9]

It is, however, evident from a letter written by Nityānanda's son Vīrabhadra, that he had the power to excommunicate a member of the 'church'.[10] Nityānanda also must have enjoyed similar, if not greater power, so that it may be concluded that he laid the basis of a centralized control of the order which in course of time was dissipated.[11] One of the reasons may have been that, no attempt was made to establish a definite centre.

At Caitanya's express desire Nityānanda married two daughters of Sūrya-dās Paṇḍit, named, Jāhnavī and Vasudhā.

This was an unusual step, and, though not entirely unknown, was looked down upon.[12] Hence it must have been a great sacrifice

on Nityānanda's part, and shows the extent of his devotion and submission to the Master. Why Caitanya asked him to marry is not known. Possibly he had in mind a line of apostolic successors through Nityānanda, as he was not quite sure of Advaitācārya's sons. Nityānanda's son was Vīrabhadra; he also had a daughter called Gaṅgā.

Vṛndāvan-dās was Nityānanda's disciple and wrote the *C.Bh.* at the latter's request. Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj was inspired to leave home after he saw Nityānanda in a dream becknoning him to Vṛndāvana (*CC.* I.v. 173).

Nityānanda's image is worshipped along with that of Caitanya and they are popularly coupled as Gaur-Nitāi. According to the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas*, Nityānanda is the *āśraya* and Caitanya the *viṣaya*; that is, one cannot attain Caitanya without the help of Nityānanda, hence his worship is essential.

However, from several statements in the *C.Bh.* it appears that there was considerable opposition to Nityānanda after Caitanya's death. Possibly there was some opposition to him even during Caitanya's life-time, which may have been due to the orthodox reaction to his liberal outlook, and certain strange habits, such as wearing costly dress and ornaments. But Caitanya's faith in him was unshaken till the end.

The date of Nityānanda's death is not known. But he survived Caitanya.

II. *ADVAITĀCARYA.*

Advaitācārya's position among Caitanya's followers is only next to Nityānanda's. He came from Sylhet and had settled at Santipur near Navadvīpa. His father was Kuver Paṇḍit and mother Nābhā Devī. Advait's name was Kamalākṣa, but he was invariably called Advaitācārya, which probably indicates that, at a certain time he was known for his proficiency in monistic philosophy. Later, he of course became a devout *vaiṣṇava*, but the name persisted. He had two wives, namely, Sītā and Śrī, and several sons.[13]

Advait was much older than Caitanya and a disciple of Mādhavendra Purī. Hence he was Caitanya's senior in every respect; but he looked upon Caitanya not only as his superior, but as an incarnation. However, Caitanya always treated him with marked respect, except on one occasion described above. Advait's importance is due to the belief held by the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* that, Kṛṣṇa incarnated Himself as Caitanya in response to Advait's fervent prayers. Secondly, Caitanya's early recognition at Navadvīpa de-

pended to a great extent on Advait's support. Caitanya was a child when Advait was recognized as the leader of the *vaiṣṇava* community at Navadvīpa, hence his homage to young Nīmāi provided, so to say, the coping stone to the edifice around which the latter's reputation was built. The importance of the venerable *ācārya's* support to the nascent movement cannot be over-estimated. Advait's enigmatic letter closed Caitanya's life, as has been noted above. (p. 245). Some of his sons, started a counter-movement with Advait as the spiritual head of a new sect; but the old man stood firm in his unflinching devotion to the Master. He and Nityānanda are known as the two branches of a tree, of which Caitanya is the trunk; and while Caitanya is referred to as Mahāprabhu (great-lord, or great master) Nityānanda and Advait are referred to as *prabhu* or *prabhupāda*.

In the *Caitanya-candrodaya* (V.p.118) Advait defines *Śrī-pāda* as: '.... *Śriyaṁ pāt-īti Śrīpaḥ Kṛṣṇaḥ tam ādadāt-īti*', that is, he who properly donates Kṛṣṇa (the husband on protector of Śrī) is *Śrīpāda*'. In the same manner, *Prabhu-pāda* would indicate a person who can confer on one the bliss of attaining Caitanya. The descendants of Nityānanda and Advait are the hereditary preceptors of Caitanya's sect, and in this respect they practically enjoy the position occupied by Vallabha's descendants. Advait survived Caitanya, but his date of death is not known.

Advaita's wife, Sītā, is said to have introduced the *Sakhī-bhāva* among the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas*. The members of this very small group are males, but adopt female garb and behave like *gopīs*.

III. *DĀMODAR PAṆḌIT.*

Little is known about his early life except that he was a *brāhmaṇa*, and a very learned man. He accompanied Caitanya from Puri to Bengal and back. He was an extremely outspoken man and on one occasion, mentioned above (p. 225-6) admonished even Caitanya.

IV. *DĀMODAR SVARŪP.*

Born in a *brāhmaṇa* family of Navadvīpa, his original name was Puruṣottama Ācārya. His attachment to Caitanya dates from their early youth, and when the latter became a monk, Puruṣottama in a fit of acute depression went to Varanasi, determined to enter monastic life. There he was initiated by Caitanyānanda, but he was admitted as a *brahmacārin*, or novice. In the Daśa-nāmī orders such persons, who are received on probation before taking the final vows are given distinctive surnames, that for the *Tīrtha* and *Āśrama* order

of monks being *Svarūpa;* Puruṣottama's name was changed into Dāmodara, hence he is known as Dāmodara Svarūpa which is pronounced in Bengali as Dāmodar Svarūp.

Dāmodar Svarūp came to Puri after Caitanya's return from south Indian tour, and lived there for the rest of his life. He was an accomplished scholar and an acknowledged authority on *vaiṣṇava* philosophy. No book could be submitted to the Master, unless it was approved by Dāmodar. Of all the companions, he alone could guess the Master's moods, and he sang songs suitable to his particular mood. As during the last years, Caitanya was continuously in Rādhā's mood, Dāmodar used to sing from Caṇḍīdāsa and Vidyāpati. In this he was helped by Rāmānanda.

He wrote a small tract describing Caitanya's final years at Puri; this was available to Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj, but is now lost.

He survived Caitanya, but the date of his death is not known.

V. *GADĀDHAR PAṆḌIT.*

Caitanya and four of his followers, including Nityānanda and Advait are known as *Pañca-tattva;* Gadādhar is the fourth. Born at Chittagong, son of Mādhav Miśra and Ratnāvatī, he came to Navadvīpa while young, for his studies. He was initiated by Pundarīk Vidyānidhi. After Caitanya's return from his south Indian tour, Gadādhar went to Puri and seems to have remained there for the rest of his life.

VI. *HARI-DĀS.*

Usually referred to as Hari-dās Ṭhākur, or Ṭhākur Hari-dās, he was born in a Muslim family in village Buḍhan, District of Jessore. At an early age he left his village and retired into a forest near Beṇāpole, where he used to recite the name of Kṛṣṇa 300,000 times a day. Thus he gained the respect of local people, but incurred the wrath of the Hindu *zamindār,* who sent a prostitute to tempt him; but ultimately she was converted by Hari-dās and became a great devotee. But Hari-dās left Beṇāpole and for some time stayed with Balarām Ācārya at Cāndpur, the family priest of Raghu-nātha Dāsa Gosvāmin, who as a young boy came to visit Hari-dās frequently, and fell under the latter's influence which later changed the course of his life.

Hari-dās's main doctrine was that by concentrating on the Name of the Lord one can attain salvation. This was challenged by a *brāhmaṇa,* named Gopāl, who threatened to cut Hari-dās's nose, in case the latter was proved wrong. This happened in a meeting of learned *brāhmaṇas* who were most annoyed at Gopāl's behaviour, but

Hari-dās remained calm. Within three days, Gopāl was attacked with leprosy and in a few days more his nose withered and dropped off. Gopāl's condition saddened Hari-dās so much that he left the congenial atmosphere of Cāndpur and came to Santipur.

At Santipur, he was cordially received by Advait who was at that time praying for the reincarnation of Kṛṣṇa; Hari-dās also performed the *nāma-saṁkīrtana* for the same purpose, and wherever he went the name of Kṛṣṇa was constantly on his lips. For his apostacy, Hari-dās was called by the Muslim governor, who asked him to give up his Hindu doctrinal practices. As Hari-dās refused to do so, he was taken to twenty-two market towns and whipped in each of them, but all the time Hari-dās continued to utter the name of Kṛṣṇa, without betraying any trace of pain; he was praying that no harm should befall his tormentors.

After this, Hari-dās was released and came to Navadvīpa to the great delight of the local *vaiṣṇavas*. He was never persecuted again. Advaitācārya, reputed for his orthodoxy, showed his respect for Hari-das in various ways; indeed Advait made no distinction between Hari-dās and a *brāhmaṇa,* and the same is true of other *vaiṣṇavas;* but Hari-dās, who was an embodiment of devotion as well as of humility, discouraged them and preferred to live in seclusion.

His last days were spent at Puri near Caitanya. He was the only man whom Caitanya went to visit daily. His death and Caitanya's reaction has been described above. (p. 232).

VII. *JAGADĀNANDA.*

Little is known about his former life except that he was a *brāhmaṇa* from Kāñcanapallī. He accompanied Caitanya to Puri, when the latter came there for the first time. Since then Jagadānanda usually stayed at Puri.

VIII. *MĀDHAVENDRA PURĪ.*

Very little is known about him, but the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* trace the history of their sect from him. From a reference in the *C.Bh.* (III.iii) it seems that Mādhavendra became a *sannyāsin* at an advanced age. He discovered an image of Gopāla which lay buried near Govardhan hillock (Vṛndāvana) and made arrangements for His worship. Mādhavendra had come to Navadvīpa before Caitanya's birth and claimed several disciples including Advait.

IX. *MURĀRI GUPTA.*

He was a *vaiśya* by caste, and came from Sylhet. He was intimately connected with Caitanya in Navadvīpa, and wrote his first

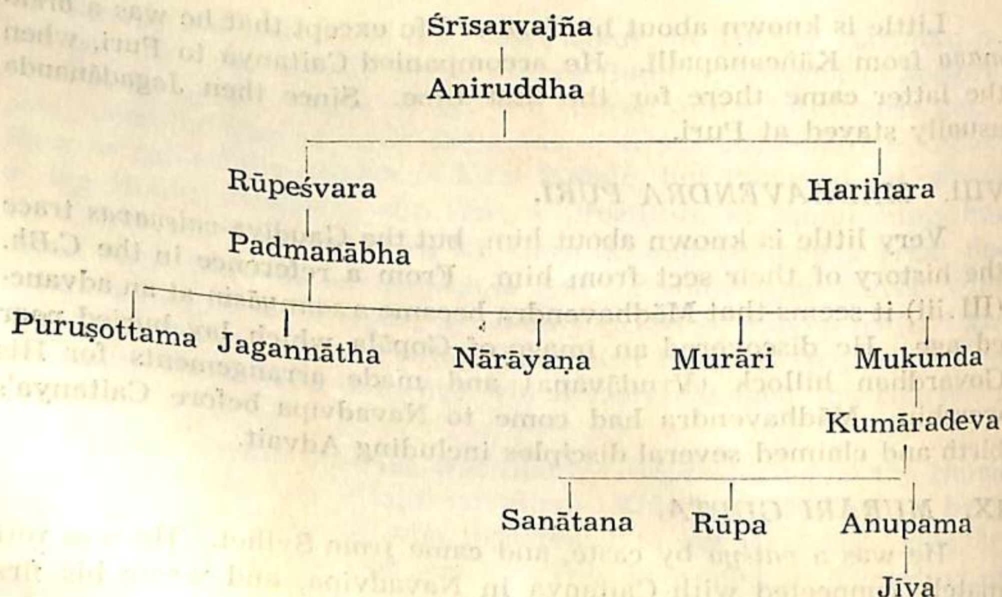
biography. He worshipped Rāma as his deity, though Caitanya told him repeatedly to worship Kṛṣṇa. One day Murāri agreed to be initiated into Kṛṣṇa-*mantra* the next day. But on the morning of the appointed day he confessed amidst tears that try as he would, he could not turn his mind away from Rāma; as he had been unable to keep his pledged word to the Master he had decided on committing suicide. But Caitanya, who was testing his fidelity and steadfastness was extremely pleased. He wrote the earliest biography of Caitanya.

X. *RĀMĀNANDA RĀYA.*

He was the son of Bhavānanda and was *karaṇa* by caste. He was a high official, and the author of the drama *Jagannātha-vallabha.* His great contribution to Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism, and his relation with Caitanya have been described above.

XI. *RŪPA-GOSVĀMIN, SANĀTANA-GOSVĀMIN* AND *JĪVA-GOSVĀMIN.*

Sanātana-and Rūpa-gosvāmins were born in a *brāhmaṇa* family of Bharadvāja *gotra* and Yajurvedīya *śākhā*. Jīva-gosvāmin was their nephew (son of their youngest brother Anupam). At the close of his abridgement (*Laghu-toṣaṇī*) of Sanātan's commentary on the *Bh.P.*, Jīv gives the genealogy of the family as well as a list of the principal works of his uncles. From this genealogy it is learnt that there was a king called Śrīsarvajña in Karṇāṭaka, who was known as Jagadguru due to his learning. His descendants were:



Aniruddha had divided his kingdom among his two sons but Harihara forcibly occupied Rūpeśvara's dominion and drove him away. Rūpeśvara then left Karṇāṭaka, and found shelter with King Śikhareśvara of Paurastya. Later in life, he retired to Navahaṭṭa (Naihati near Kālnā) in Bengal where he became friendly with king Danujamardana (Rājā Gaṇeśa?). His grandson Kumāradeva shifted to Bāklā Candradvīpa (E. Pakistan); of his many sons, three, namely, Sanātan, Rūp and Anupam became famous.

Sanātan and Rūp became ministers of Sultān Husain Shāh of Bengal, the former being given the official title of *Sākar Mallik*, and the latter *Dabīr-Khās*. *Sākar* is probably the Bengali form of *sughar*, which means, 'intelligent', 'sagacious', 'elegant', 'accomplished', 'beautiful' and 'virtuous'; hence Sakar Mallik probably means 'the virtuous and wise noble.'[14] *Dabīr-Khās* means private or principal secretary or writer; Rūp's handwriting is said to have been extremely beautiful (*CC*. III. i. 87).

The importance of Sanātana-, Rūpa-, and Jīva- *gosvāmins* in the development of Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism cannot be overestimated, and in this respect their position is next to that of Nityānanda and Advait. They created modern Vṛndāvana, and made it into a centre of Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism. Growse says that until the end of the 16th century, the whole country around Mathura and Vṛndāvana was practically woodland. 'The Vaishnava culture then first developed into its present form under the influence of the celebrated Bengali Gosains of Brindavan....From them it was said that every lake and grove in the circuit of Braj received a distinctive name, in addition to some seven or eight spots which alone are mentioned in the earlier Puranas.'[15]

It was under the influence of Rūp and Sanātan that the great temples of Vṛndāvana were built. Under one of the niches at the west end of the nave of Govindajī's temple at Vṛndāvana is a tablet with a long Sanskrit inscription. The inscription is mutilated, but according to Growse, 'so much of it as can be deciphered records the fact that the temple was built in *samvat* 1647, i.e. A.D. 1590, under the direction of the two *gurus*, Rūpa and Sanātana.'[16] It is said that their fame attracted even Akbar, who came to visit them.

But this was only a part of their activity, though a very important part, for the Master had ordered them to restore Vṛndāvana. The other part of their work was the writing of Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇava* texts. As Dr. S.K. De has said: 'The Caitanyaism which we know today, is mainly the product of Sanātana, Rūpa, and Jīva and their disciple Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Kavirāja, its metaphysics is mainly Jīva's

contribution.'[17] Sanātan has left four works, Rūp thirteen (or according to the *Bhakti-ratnākara*, seventeen), and Jīva wrote more than twenty works, but as Dr. S.K, De says, 'it is difficult to give a complete list of his works.[18]' The method of worship followed by most of the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* was introduced by Rūpa-gosvāmin. The date of Rūp and Sanātan's death is not known, but if the inscription at the Govinda temple has been correctly read by Growse, they must have lived up to 1590. Jīv's last known date is 1592.

XII. *ŚRĪVĀS OR ŚRĪNIVĀS.*

He was born in a *brāhmaṇa* family in Sylhet but settled with his three brothers, namely, Śrīrām, Śrīpati, and Śrīnidhi, at Navadīpa. Śrīvās is also included as one of the *Pañca-tattva*. As Caitanya used to perform *saṁkīrtana* and dance in his courtyard (*āṁginā*), Śrīvās's *āṁginā* has become a byword in Bengali. His wife Mālinī is also very famous.

1. According to some, Caitanya initiated Sanātan according, to others, he initiated Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, while others maintain that he initiated Dāmodar Svarūp, Rāmānanda, Śikhi Mahitī, and Mādhavī Dāsī. For this there is no evidence. For a discussion see R. G. Nath: Introduction Volume of *CC*, pp. 383-84. B. B. Majumdar is of the opinion that Caitanya initiated Sanātan *MC*. p. 137. Majumdar thinks that the use of plural *gurun* in the opening verse of Sanātan's *Bṛhat-vaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī* indicates that all the persons mentioned in the verses were his teachers. But Phanibhūṣan Tarka-vāgiśa is of the opinion that the plural here indicates that the first named person namely, Sārvabhauma's younger brother Vidyāvācaspati was Sanātan's chief *guru*, hence the honorofic use of plural. Phanibhūṣan Tarka-vāgīśa, *Nyāya-paricaya*, p. 10).
2. F. O. Schrader: *The Minor Upaniṣads* (Madras, 1912), pp. 178 ff; 241-45; 303-310. *Turīyātīta* and *avadhūta* are sometimes taken to mean two classes of *sannyāsins* (P. V. Kane: History of *Dharmaśāstra*, II, ii. p. 942). It seems, however, that only one class is indicated for the following reasons: The Upaniṣads mentioned above make no distinction between *turīyātīta* and *avadhūta;* hence it seems that *turīyātītāvadhūta* has been used as a compound in which *turīyātīta* qualifies *avadhūta*, that is, an *avadhūta* is one who is *turīyātīta; turīya* means the fourth (stage), and here it evidently stands for *parama-haṁsa;* hence an *avadhūta* is one who is beyond the *parama-haṁsa* stage.
3. Schrader, op. cit., p. 304.
4. Ibid, p. 242.
5. The effect of Uddhāran Datta's initiation has been that, since then the *suvarṇa-vaṇik's* (Datta's caste) have been followers of Caitanya; they are one of the richest communities of Bengal.
6. *General Assembly of Free Church of Scotland and Others and Lord Overtoun and Others, Appeal Cases*, 1904, p. 515.
7. Ibid, pp. 612-22.
8. R. G. Nath. CC. Appendix volume pp. 498-501. The sect established by Vallabhācārya has no monastic order.
9. The *kuṭīcakas, bahūdakas, haṁsas, parama-haṁsas* and *avadhūtās* are not so many orders, like the *Daśa-nāmīs;* they can belong to any order, but there are certain characteristics attached to each of these classes of monks.
10. Jayagopāl-dās, author of several books, had for some reasons incurred Vīrabhadra's displeasure. Vīrabhadra excommunicated him, and in a letter to Śrīnivāsācarya at Vṛndāvana informed the latter of his decision. *'Jaya-*

gopāladāsena mat-prasād-ollaṁghanaṁ kṛtaṁ tac ca jagati viditâm iha tena sārdhaṁ madiya-janena kenāpy-ālāp-ādikaṁ na kartavyam iti.' Bhaktiratnākara, p. 1047 quoted in *MC.* p. 692.

11. Nityānanda's descendants have maintained their primacy in the sect gained by him down to the present day. Three distinct lines claim descent from Nityānanda: (1) those living at Khardah near Barrackpore, where Nityānanda ultimately settled and built temples; his son Vīrabhadra also lived here; (2) those living at Goishpur in the Maldah District: (3) those of Latā in the Burdwan District. But members of his family are found all over Bengal.

12. The father of Saint Jñānadeva (1275-1290) became a *sannyāsin* after marriage. Later at the order of his preceptor he returned home and lived like an householder. But his children, including Jñānadeva had to suffer from social obloquy. Caitanya himself had strong views against *sannyāsins* who lived with women, and expressed it more than once.

13. Advait's descendants are next to Nityānanda's descendants in importance. Their headquarter is at Santipur, but they also are scattered all over Bengal.

14. Prof. S. Mukhopadhyaya has taken Sākar Mallik as equivalent to *Sagīr Malik* which he thinks means 'small prince'. (R. C. Majumdar, Ed. *Bāṁglā Deśer Itihās Madhya Yug:* p. 87.) It seems that he means *ṣaghr,* which means 'small', as well as 'inferior' and 'minor'. We do not think that this word could form the part of a title of distinction; *mālik* means 'a king', but here it means 'noble' or a 'minister'.

15. Growse, *Mathura,* p. 50; quoted by Kennedy op. cit., p. 67.

16. Growse, *Mathura,* (1880 ed.), p. 224.

17. S. K. De: Op. cit., p. 150.

18. Ibid, p. 156. For a detailed description of the works of the three *gosvāmins* see ibid, pp. 151-165. An incomplete list of the works of the three *gosvāmins* is given in R. G. Nath: *CC.* Appendix volume pp. 438, 441, 442; MC. pp. 139, 146 and 158.

CHAPTER XXII

SRĪ CAITANYA'S SAMPRADĀYA

The *sampradāya* or sect to which Caitanya belonged, has been a matter of controversy, not only among scholars, but unfortunately, among his present followers, some of whom call themselves *Mādhva-Gauḍīyas* to indicate Caitanya's affiliation with the Mādhva sect.

The arguments in favour of this conclusion are as follows:

(1) The following verse is found at the beginning of the *GGD* attributed to Kavi-karṇapūra:

> *Śrī-Brahmā-Rudra-Sanak-ādayaḥ Pādme yathā smṛtāḥ*
> *ataḥ kalau bhaviṣyanti catvāraḥ sampradāyinaḥ*
> *Śrī-Brahmā-Rudra-Sanakā vaiṣṇavāḥ kṣiti-pāvanāḥ.*[1]

After quoting this verse, the *GGD* proceeds to give a list of teachers from Madhva to Caitanya, thus definitely identifying Caitanya with the Mādhva sect. We shall consider this later.

(2) B. B. Majumdar has cited seven other *Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇava* texts which affirm Caitanya's affiliation with the Mādhva sect.[2]

(3) Baladeva Vidyā-bhūṣaṇa, in the opening verses of the *G.Bh.* as well as in his *Prameya-ratnāvalī* (included among the eight texts cited by B. B. Majumdar), gives list of teachers which links Caitanya with Madhva; and the *G.Bh.* being the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇava* interpretation of the *Br.S.*, its evidence is of great importance.

(4) Caitanya was initiated by Mādhavendra Purī, who belonged to the Mādhva sect, therefore it follows that Caitanya also belonged to that sect.

Now, it is an undoubted fact, that a hoary tradition recognizes only four *vaiṣṇava* sects, as we have already pointed out.[3] If that tradition alone is to be used as a criterion for determining the sect to which Caitanya belonged, then it has to be admitted that he belonged to the Mādhva sect. But if other considerations are taken into account it will be seen that the position is probably different.

Of the eight texts, which, according to B. B. Majumdar, mention Caitanya's affiliation to the Mādhva sect, one is the *GGD,* and two others are the works of Baladeva Vidyā-bhūṣaṇa as mentioned above; of the rest two are unedited manuscripts, two are quotations from the *Bhaktiratnākara* of the 18th century, while the other is the

Anurāgavalli (1696). No opinion can be passed on the *MSS.* until they are properly edited; of the rest, we may ignore their evidence following Dr. S. K. De.[4] Therefore, we shall take into account only the *GGD* and the *G.Bh.*, and Baladeva's *Prameya-ratnāvalī.*

The *GGD* is usually admitted to be the work of Kavi-karṇapūra, hence we have to compare its contents with the other work by the same author, namely, the drama *Caitanya-candrodaya,* before considering its list of teachers.

In the sixth Act of this drama, Sārvabhauma asks: *kastāvad asya mahā-vāky-opadeṣṭā* and Gopī-nāth replies: *Keśava Bhāratī.*'[5] This is corroborated by the *CC* (II. vi. 70-2) where in reply to Sārvabhauma, Gopī-nāth stated that Caitanya belonged to the Bhāratī order. Now, it is only in Śaṁkara's sect that a man was initiated with *mahāvākya.* As the point is of some importance we give the details here. Śaṁkara divided his disciples into ten orders; of them *Tīrthas* and *Āśramas* were under the Sāradā Maṭha at Dwarka; *Vana* and *Araṇya* under the Govardhana Maṭha at Puri; *Giri, Parvata* and *Sāgara* under the Jyotirmaṭha at Badari; and *Sarasvatī, Bhāratī* and *Purī* under the Śṛṁgerī Maṭha. The four monasteries figuratively corresponded to the four Vedas, and Śaṁkara himself is said to have decided that, of the four *mahāvākyas,* Sārada Maṭha should follow *tat tvam asi,* Govardhana, *Prajñānam Brahma,* Jyotirmaṭha, *ayam ātmā Brahma* and Śṛṁgerī, *aham Brahmāsmi.* The orders belonging to these four monasteries used to initiate monks with their particular *mahā-vākya.* Hence from the reported conversation of Sārvabhauma and Gopī-nāth, mentioned above, it can be concluded: (1) Caitanya was initiated into monism, and (2) his preceptor was Keśava Bhāratī, so far as *sannyāsa-dīksā* is concerned.

Again in the same drama, Caitanya on his return from the south tells Sārvabhauma:

kiyaṁta eva vaiṣṇavā dṛṣṭās te'pi Nārāyaṇ-opāsakā eva; apare tattvavādinas te tathāvidhā eva; niravadyaṁ na bhavati tesāṁ matam; apare tu Śaivā eva; bahavaḥ pāṣaṇḍās tu mahā-prabalā bhvayāṁsa eva; kiṁtu Bhaṭṭācārya! Rāmānanda-matam eva me rucitam.[6]

Is it not curious, to say the least, that Kavi-Karṇapūra should have bracketed Madhva's doctrine not only with Rāmānuja's, but with Śaiva and Pāṣaṇḍins' when he knew that Caitanya belonged to the Mādhva sect?

From this it is possibly permissible to conclude that either Kavikarṇapūra's drama has no historical basis, or that he came to possess certain new information when he wrote the *GGD,* or that he did not write the *GGD.*

It seems that the evidence of the drama is not entirely baseless. For, in the *CC*, (I. vii. 64; II. xvii. 112), Prakāśānanda calls Caitanya a disciple of Keśava Bhāratī, and Caitanya admits to belonging to a low *sampradāya* (*CC*. I. vii. 62), which can only be Bhāratī, because according to a late tradition, Śaṁkara, who had appointed one of his principal disciples as the respective head of each order, became angry with some of them, and either broke their *daṇḍas* into two, or took them away altogether. Such orders are considered low, and Bhāratī is one of them, but not Purī. The *C.Bh.* (III. iv) also relates that when a monk asked Advaitācārya the relation between Keśava Bhāratī and Caitanya, Advaitācārya replied that Keśava Bhāratī was Caitanya's *guru*.

Hence from the evidence of the *Caitanya-candrodaya* corroborated by the *CC* and the *C.Bh.*, it is apparent that Caitanya belonged to the Bhāratī and not to the Purī order.

Caitanya's *sannyāsa* is also not free from controversy. According to Murāri (II. xviii. 2; III. ii. 7) and the *CBh.* (II xxvi) he told Keśava Bhāratī of a *mantra* which he had received in a dream, and Keśava initiated him with that *mantra*.[7] This was most unusual, and if Caitanya had not intervened, Keśava Bhāratī would have initiated him with a *mahā-vākya* with its monistic implications to which Caitanya had the greatest possible objection. Then according to the *CBh.*, Keśava thought that though a Bhāratī's disciple should be called a Bhāratī, in this case that would not be proper, hence he gave him the name Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya. Now, according to the organization set up by Śaṁkara mentioned above, the *brahmacārins* under the Sāradā-*maṭha*, were to be known as *Svarūpa*, under Govardhana-*maṭha* as *Prakāśa*, under Jyotir-*maṭha* as *Ānanda*, and under Śṛṁgerī-*maṭha* as *Caitanya*. As the Śṛṁgerī-*maṭha* was the centre for *Sarasvatī*, *Bhāratī* and the *Purī* orders, it is most likely that Keśava Bhāratī conferred on his extraordinary disciple the title Caitanya to indicate that the latter was not a full fledged *sannyāsin*. That this happened in the case of Caitanya's friend Dāmodar Svarūp is admitted in the *CC*. (II.x.106). The possibility, therefore, has to be borne in mind that, Caitanya probably never adopted what is known formally as *sannyāsa*.

Now about the testimony of the *G.Bh.* and the *Prameya-ratnāvalī*. It is indeed extremely curious that Baladeva Vidyā-bhūṣaṇa should have introduced his celebrated commentary with a list of teachers showing Caitanya's link with Madhva; for Baladeva was writing the commentary to prove that Caitanya's sect was distinct from Madhva's.[8]

In the *TS* (xxiv), Jīva Gosvāmin respectfully refers to other *vaiṣṇava* teachers like Madhva, Śrīdhara and Rāmānuja. Referring to Madhva he writes: *'Madhvācārya-caraṇaiḥ'*; taking advantage of the plural form *caraṇaiḥ* Baladeva comments: *Madhvācārya-caraṇair iti atya-ādara-sūcaka-bahutva-nirdeśaḥ sva-pūrv-ācāryatvād iti bodhyam.* However, in the same context Jīva Gosvāmin refers to *'Śrīdhara-svāmī-caraṇānām'* and to *'Śrī-Rāmānuja-bhagavat-pāda'*, but here Baladeva merely says: *'Śrīdharasvāmino vaiṣṇavā eva'* and on Rāmānuja is even more cryptic.[9]

Again in the *TS*, Jīva Gosvāmin referring to other schools of Vedānta mentions Rāmānuja and Madhva along with Vijayadhvaja and Vyāsatīrtha (his chief exponents) as belonging to the south.[10] Commenting on this Baladeva writes: *'dakṣiṇ-ādi-deś-eti tena Gauḍe' pi Mādhavendr-ādayas tad upaśiṣyāḥ katicid babhūvur ity=arthaḥ.*[11] Commenting on the same passage Rādhā-mohan Gosvāmin writes: *'tathā Śrī-Madhvācāryasya dvaita-vādino'pi na sarvaṁ mataṁ gṛhītam.*[12] Evidently Rādhā-mohan has correctly interpreted Jīva Gosvāmin, while Baladeva has interpolated the name of Mādhavendra: even so Baladeva does not say that the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* are Mādhvas, but contents himself with the gratuitous observation that, Mādhavendra and a few Mādhvas are found in Bengal. This apparently conflicts with the statement of Jīva-gosvāmin in the *Vaiṣṇava-vandanā*, where he has stated: *Mādhavendrasya bahavaḥ śiṣyā dharaṇi vistṛtāḥ.*[13]

It has been pointed out above, that according to custom, Caitanya should have been included in the sect to which Keśava Bhāratī belonged, and the *C.Bh.* and the *CC.* supports this view. But it is nonetheless true that he is invariably said to belong to Mādhavendra's sect. For example, at the end of his *Vaiṣṇava-vandanā*, Jīva-gosvāmin states:

> *etad vaiṣṇava-vandanaṁ sukhakaraṁ sarvārtha siddhi-pradam*
> *Śrīman-Mādhava-sampradāya-gaṇaṁ Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-bhakti-pradam.*[14]

According to Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj, Mādhavendra was the seed of the wishing tree of devotion (*bhakti-kalpa-taru*), Īśvara Purī was the seedling, and Caitanya was the fully grown tree trunk, who due to his unthinkable power, was also the gardener.[15]

Thus it is evident that, according to the Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins*, Mādhavendra Purī was the founder of Caitanya's sect, but its development was due to Caitanya. It seems that, it was possible to maintain Caitanya's link with Mādhavendra (through Īśvara Purī) and ignore Keśava Bhāratī, because the latter did not administer the *sannyāsa* vows to Caitanya.

Before considering the list of teachers given in the *GGD*, and comparing it with the list of teachers found in Mādhva monasteries, it is necessary to describe them briefly.

First there are the famous *Aṣṭa-maṭhas,* founded by Madhva to conduct the worship at the Kṛṣṇa temple at Uḍipi. Each of these *maṭhas* has its own list of teachers.[16] There are two other monasteries called Bhaṇḍarkere and Bhīmanakaṭṭe *maṭhas*, but we are not concerned with any of these ten.

There is, however, another group of three *maṭhas,* known as *Mūla-maṭhas.* It was founded either by Madhva or by his direct disciple Padmanābha; later it was bifurcated into two, and still later into three. As will be evident, the teachers' list given in the *GGD,* agrees to a great extent with the list of one of these *maṭhas* as given below:

List of Teachers *GGD*	List of teachers of the *Mūla-maṭha* known as Vyāsarāya *maṭha.*
1. Madhva.	1. Madhva (1238-1317).
2. Padmanābha.	2. Padmanābha (d. 1324).
3. Narahari.	3. Narahari (d. 1333).
4. Mādhava.	4. Mādhava (d. 1350).
5. Akṣobhya.	5. Akṣobhya (d. 1365).
6. Jayatīrtha.	6. Jayatīrtha (d. 1388).
7. Jñānasindhu.	7. Vidyādhirāja (1412)*
8. Mahānidhi.	8. Rājendra (1435)*
9. Vidyānidhi.	9. Jayadhvaja (1448)*
10. Rājendra.	10. Puruṣottama (1460)*
11. Jayadharma.	11. Brahmaṇya (1478)*
12. Puruṣottama Brahmaṇya.	12. Vyāsarāya (1539).
13. Vyāsa Tīrtha.	13. Śrīnivāsa.
14. Lakṣmīpati.	14. Rāma.
15. Mādhavendra.	15. Lakṣmīkānta.
16. Īśvara Purī.	16. Śrīpati.
17. Caitanya.	17. Rāmacandra (g. 1627, 1631).
	18. Lakṣmīvallabha.[17]

In the GGD list, dates are not mentioned, but Madhva is described as the author of the *Śata-dūṣaṇī.* Now, while Madhva is not known to have written a work of this name, *Śata-dūṣaṇī* is the celebrated work of the famous Vedāntadeśika or Veṁkaṭanātha (1268-1369) of the *Śrī-sampradāya.*

Secondly in the GGD each pontiff is stated to be the disciple of his predecessor: '....*Madhvācārya mahāśayaḥ/.... tasya śiṣyo'bhavat Padmanābhaḥ..../ tasya śiṣya Naraharis tac=chiṣyo Mādhava-dvijaḥ..../ Akṣobhyas tasya śiṣyo'bhut....*' But according to Mādhva tradition, Padmanābha, Narahari, Mādhava and Akṣobhya were all ordained by Madhva; even if we ignore the tradition, there can be no doubt about Narahari, for there are epigraphic evidence to prove that he was ordained by Madhva.

Third is the question of date, even if we ignore the discrepancies in the names of some pontiffs in the two lists. B. B. Majumdar accepted the date 1040 Śaka era as the date of Madhva from a list of teachers obtained from the Uḍipi-*maṭha* by Satyendra Nath Basu, and established that it was possible for Mādhavendra to have been the disciple's disciple of Vyāsa Tīrtha.[18] For Madhva's date we quote B. N. K. Sharma: 'There has been a controversy within the limits of a century or so over the date of Madhva. Both the traditional date of birth: 1199 A.D. claimed for him on the authority of a passage in his *Mahābhārata Tātparyanirṇaya* (xxxii.131) and the date Śaka 1040-1120, proposed in some of the geneo-chronological tables of the Uttarādi and other Mutts, have now been set at rest by the discovery and publication of the inscription of Narahari Tīrtha (particularly the one dated Śaka 1203)—a direct disciple and second "successor" of Madhva on the "Pīṭha".' After discussing the problem, Sharma concludes: '1238-1317 A.D. thus appear to be the most satisfactory rate for Madhva.'[19] In any case, Madhva's date cannot be earlier than 1199. Vyasa Tīrtha's dates are also well established; he was born about 1460 and died in 1539, having succeeded as pontiff in 1478.[20]

Caitanya was initiated by Īśvara Purī a disciple of Mādhavendra in 1510 (Śaka 1431). Could three teachers have intervened between him and Vyāsa Tīrtha? This may not be impossible, but is most improbable. For, as will be seen from the lists given above, Caitanya should be a contemporary of Śrīpati; but Śrīpati's successor Rāmachandra has two grants issued in A.D. 1627 and 1631; therefore Śrīpati must have lived in the second half of the sixteenth century, long after Caitanya's death.

Therefore, taking all the circumstances into consideration, it seems that, the list of teachers given in the *GGD* is spurious, particularly in view of the fact that it conflicts with the statements made in the *Caitanya-candrodaya*.

The list of teachers found in the *G.Bh.* is, however, of a different nature. As we have seen, Baladeva was persistent in his attempt to link the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* with Madhva; therefore

whether his list is spurious or genuine there cannot be any doubt that it was inserted by him. This brings us to the question as to why did he invent this affiliation, for a man like Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa does not act thus unless prompted by some compelling necessity. The answer seems to be provided by Rādhā-mohan Gosvāmin in his commentary on the *TS*: '*Śriman-Madhvācāryo yathā Śrimac-Chaṁkarācārya-śiṣyo'pi Brahma-sampradāyam āśritya Brahmasūtra bhāṣyādikaṁ kṛtvā svātantryeṇa sampradāya-pravartakas tathā svayam-bhagavad-avatāro'pi Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanyaḥ sva-matam eva tat-sampradāy-āntargatatvaṁ gurv-āśrayaṇasy-āvaśyakatvam aṁgīkṛtya pravartitavān.*'[21]

This Rādhā-mohan seems to be identical with the Rādhā-mohan, who, according to Mahāmahopādhyāya Phaṇī-bhūṣaṇa Tarkavāgīśa, was fifth in descent from Advaitācārya, and initiated Viśvanāth, son of Rājā Rāma-Kṛṣṇa of Natore at the end of the 18th century, and was the author of the *Nyāya-sūtra-vivaraṇa*. He also wrote the *Dīpa* commentary on Raghunandana's *Ekādaśītattva*, and is said to have been a friend of H. T. Colebrooke, (1765-1837).[22] Thus it appears that Rādhā-mohan was a junior contemporary of Baladeva and was probably compelled to write a commentary on the *TS*. due to Baladeva's Mādhva proclivity.

Rādhā-mohan admits that a *guru* is necessary, even if one differs from him in order to establish a sect. This reminds us of Śaṁkara's unequivocal statement in his commentary on the *Gītā* (XIII, 2): '*ātmahā svayaṁ mūḍhaḥ anyān ca vyāmohayati śastr-ārtha-sampradāya-rahitatvāt śruta-hānim aśruta-kalpanāṁ ca kurvan; tasmād asaṁpradāyavit sarva-śāstravid api mūrkhavad eva upekṣaṇīyaḥ.*'[23]

It appears that all the great teachers followed the categorical dictum of the great Ācārya, and Caitanya was no exception. But as has been stated above, at this time there were only four traditional *vaiṣṇava* sects and Caitanya had to belong to any one of them. Of these four sects, the doctrine and philosophy of Nimbārka is nearest to Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism, but from Caitanya's biographies it appears that he never met a follower of Nimbārka, and Jīva-gosvāmin also does not mention Nimbārka as a *vaiṣṇava* teacher in the *TS*.

In Bengal it was not necessary to admit affiliation with any of the four sects, but in north India, the position was probably quite different. Hence, as we have mentioned above, Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa was forced to write the *G.Bh*. There he admitted a link with Madhva, for Madhva also having been ordained as a monist, not only established a new sect, but is said to have converted his own *guru*.[24] Thus a curious situation seems to have developed, in

which, in order to prove the separate identity of his sect, Baladeva first had to admit the original affiliation of his sect with Madhva: a unique example of *bhedābheda* relation. If Baladeva had really wanted to identify his sect with Madhva's, he would not have written the *G.Bh.*, for a sect can have only one authoritative commentary on the *Br.S.* The doctrinal differences between Caitanya's and Madhva's sects are also too great to allow any identification.

Therefore, Baladeva's action seems to have been dictated by necessity; for, it is quite likely that had he not begun with affirming Caitanya's link with Madhva, he would not have been given a hearing. But if this assumption is correct, namely that, Baladeva's affirmation of Madhva connection was a stratagem for obtaining, what may be called, the dispensation of *āpad-dharma*, it is of no significance in determining the sect to which Caitanya belonged. If on the other hand, it is claimed that he did it deliberately, and the anecdote which has been related above[25] is baseless, then it has to be pointed out that his attempt to link Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism with Madhva was an unauthorized innovation, and the list of teachers given in the *G.Bh.* and the *Prameya-ratnāvalī* does not bear scrutiny, though it is an improvement on the one found in the *GGD.*

It is now necessary to consider the sect to which Mādhavendra and Keśava Bhāratī belonged. The only source of information about them is Caitanya's biographies. But the biographies give no information about Keśava Bhāratī except that he ordained Caitanya. About Mādhavendra a few stories are related as examples of his extreme devotion, but his antecedents are not given. As for Caitanya it is stated by Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj, that he not only differed from the Mādhvas, but convinced the latter of their mistake. It is also interesting to note that according to the same author, the Mādhvas at first refused to talk with Caitanya, whom they had mistaken for a monist; and ultimately Caitanya told them that both *karmins* and *jñānins* are without *bhakti*, and Madhva's followers appeared to be both *karmins* and *jñānins*.[26] Thus it is apparent that, at least up to 1615, when the *CC* was written , theoreticians of Caitanya's sect did not admit Madhva affiliation.

It is also necessary to take into consideration Caitanya's reported preference for Śrīdhara Svāmin's commentary on the *Bh.P.* (*CC.* III. vii. 96-120).Apparently Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj was not exaggerating, for Jīva-gosvāmin has praised Śrīdhara Svāmin both in the *Bṛhad-vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* and the *TS* (xxvii), where he is slightly apologetic for the Svāmin's occasional foray in *advaitavāda*. There can be no doubt about the sect to which Śrīdhara Svāmin belonged;

his commentaries on the *Bh.P.* (x. 87), *V.P.* (*maṁgala* verse) and the *Gītā* (*maṁgala* verse) show clearly that he was a monist. If Chaitanya had been a Mādhva, it would have been impossible for him to consider Śrīdhara Svāmin as an authority at all. As Dr. S. K. De has stated, Caitanya could not have been such an anti-Śaṁkara as depicted by his biographer.[27] And, as will be shown later, the Gauḍīya *vaiṣṇavas* never deny that the monists will gain liberation.

The main contributions of Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism to Indian thought are, the category of *acintya-śakti*, ontology of Rādhā and the development of the *rasa* theory. Mādhva philosophy had nothing to do with any of these problems. The chief attraction of Mādhva philosophy is its epistemology, a branch of knowledge in which Caitanya was least interested.

Except late traditions, there is no evidence to indicate the sect to which Mādhavendra belonged. From one incident related by Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj, it appears that at least one of Mādhavendra's disciples was a monist; this indicates that Mādhavendra also shall have been a monist to begin with, but later changed his views.[28] He may have been converted to Mādhva faith, for there are no evidence either for or against the tradition that he was a Mādhva. It may be noted, however, that Madhva's followers are famous for their dialectical skill and not for the unique emotional fervour producing pathological symptoms of devotion which characterized Mādhavendra. Possibly it was he who first emphasized this aspect of religious devotion, and imparted it to his disciples like Advaitācārya, and Īśvara Purī, who transmitted it to Caitanya, in whom religious devotion saw its extreme limits of rapturous expression, both physically and psychologically, which is perhaps unparalleled in the history of religion. In this respect, Mādhavendra may indeed be called the seed, Īśvara Purī the seedling, and Caitanya the mighty tree of *bhakti* as Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj has done.

1. 'As the *Padma-purāṇa* says, only four sects, namely, Śrī, Brahma, Rudra and Sanaka will remain in the Kali age; the *vaiṣṇavas* of Śrī, Brahma, Rudra and Sanaka (sects) are purifiers of the world.'
2. *MC.* p. 544.
3. See above p. 38.
4. S. K. De. op. cit., p. 16 f.n. 1. Sri Sundarananda Vidyavinod (*Acintya-bhedābheda*, p. 209) states that in the *MSS.* of Viśvanātha-cakravartin's work (referred to by B. B. Majumdar *MC.* p. 544) which he has seen there is no verse pointing to Caitanya's Mādhva affiliation.
5. 'Who has administered to him the *mahavākya*'? 'Keśava Bhāratī'. *Caitanya-candrodaya*, Act. VI, 1854 ed., p. 140.
6. 'I saw some *vaiṣṇavas*, some worship Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Rāmānuja's sect), others are *tattva-vādins* (Mādhas); they too are similar (i.e. worshippers of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa); their doctrines are not without blemish. Among others, most are Śaivas; a large number of *pāṣaṇḍas* (Buddhists and Jainas) are also seen. But Bhaṭṭācārya, I like Rāmānanda's doctrine.' Ibid. p. 174.
7. This contradicts Kavi-Karṇapūra's drama mentioned above, but in this res-

pect C. *Bh.* is more reliable than the *Caitanya-candrodaya*. Evidently Kavi-karṇapūra had guessed the normal procedure. But Murari and Vṛndavan-das are corroborated by Locan-das: *Caitanya-maṁgala*, p. 156. See below note 26.

8. In the middle of the 18th century a controversy arose in Jaipur where Caitanya's followers were asked to stand in a line behind the Mādhvas when *prasāda* (food) was distributed in the temple. They, however, wanted to form a separate row like the other four sects, claiming that they were an independent sect. In order to prove this claim Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa wrote the *Govinda-bhāṣya* on the *Br. S.* which was considered by a learned assembly which decided on the basis of the *G. Bh.* that Caitanya's sect was not affiliated to the Mādhva sect.
9. *TS* (Acyutagranthamālā), pp. 66; 73-5.
10. Ibid, p. 77.
11. 'Southern country et cetera means that there were few sub-disciples (disciple of disciples) like Mādhavendra et cetera in Bengal.' Ibid. p. 62.
12. 'Similarly (i.e. like Śrīdhara's and Rāmānuja's mentioned in the preceding sentences) Madhvācarya's doctrine cannot be accepted in toto.' Ibid, p. 78.
13. 'The many disciples of Mādhavendra are scattered all over the world'. *MC*, p. 540. It can of course mean that Mādhavendra had few disciples in Bengal while the majority resided outside, but that does not seem to be the intention.
14. *MC.* p. 543.
15. *CC.* I. ix. 8-9. In verse 11, Kṛṣṇa-dās calls Keśava Bhāratī as one of the nine roots of the tree; the other eight 'roots' like Paramānanda Purī, were more or less Caitanya's companions. This downgrading of Keśava Bhāratī also indicates that Caitanya did not take *sannyāsa* from him. See also *C.Bh.* I. vi. according to which Caitanya declared several times that Mādhavendra was the originator of *bhakti-rasa*.
16. The head of each of these eight monasteries is given the charge of the temple at Uḍipi by rotation for two years.
17. B. N. K. Sharma: *A History of Dvaita School of Literature* (Bombay, 1960), p. 274. Dates in brackets against the names of pontiffs represent their dates of death as recorded in the *maṭhas*. Those marked with an asterisk denote dates tentatively fixed or revised in the light of other date; 'g' stands for grants made to the pontiffs in the year mentioned; ibid, p. 276.
18. *MC*, pp. 546-47.
19. Dr. B. N. K. Sharma, op. cit., pp. 101-02.
20. Dr. B. N. K. Sharma: *Philosopry of Śrī Madhvācārya*, Bombay, 1962, p. xvi.
21. 'Just as Madhvācarya, though a disciple of Śaṁkara (i.e. his sect) adopted the Brahma-sect and established his own views by commenting on the *Brahma-sūtra*, etc. and established an independent sect, similarly though Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya was an incarnation of *svayaṁ-Bhagavān* (Kṛṣṇa), he felt the necessity of having recourse to a preceptor in order to establish his own sect.' *TS*, p. 78.
22. *MM.* Phaṇī-bhūṣaṇa Tarkavāgīśa: *Nyāya-paricaya*, pp. 59-60. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I, p. 523. Baladeva's dates are not known; but his *Stavamālā* is dated 1686 S.E. (A.D. 1764). Colebrooke came to India in 1782 and left in 1814. Hence his friend Rādhā mohan, whose dates are unknown, seems to have been a junior contemporary of Baladeva.
23. 'That man (who does not belong to a recognized sect) being a fool destroys himself and deludes others, (and) by his ignorance of sectarian interpretation of scriptures, imagines interpretations which are offensive to the *Sruti* texts; therefore, a man who does not belong to a sect must be ignored as if he was a fool.' (Gita Press edition, p. 310).
24. The case of Vallabhācārya is somewhat analogous; Viṣṇusvāmin is regarded by tradition as being the founder of the Śuddhādvaita system which was regenerated by Vallabha; but he himself never refers to Viṣṇusvāmin.
25. See above f.n. 8.
26. *CC.* II. ix. 228-51. Kavi-karṇapūra and Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj have referred to Madhva's doctrine as *Tattvavāda;* this is quite correct, for Madhva himself called his doctrine *Tattvavāda* (the doctrine of realism).
27. S. K. De, op. cit., p. 151, f.n.
28. *CC.* III. viii. 17-24. But Mādhavendra had not disowned the monist disciple.

CHAPTER XXIII

ACINTYA-BHEDĀBHEDA

The Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇava* school of philosophy, which is attributed to Caitanya, is called the *Acintya-bhedābheda* system, which literally means, 'incomprehensible dualistic monism', that is, an 'inscrutable relation of difference in non-difference'. It is therefore necessary to discuss the significance of the term *acintya*.

In the *VP*. (I. vi. 1-3) Maitreya asked Parāśara: 'How can creative agency be attributed to Brahman, who is unqualified, not an object of cognition (*aprameya*), pure, and free from imperfections'. Parāśara replied: 'O best of ascetics! the powers of all beings, incomprehensible to thought (*acintya-jñāna-gocaraḥ*) like the power of creation, belong to Brahman. All such powers (*śakti*) belong to it, even as heat belongs to fire.'

Both Śrīdhara Svāmin and Jīva Gosvāmin have interpreted the word *acintya* of this verse as, *bhinnābhinnatv-ādi-vikalpaiś cintayitum aśakyāḥ kevalam arthāpatti-jñāna-gocarāḥ*.

That is, *acintya* is that which being undefinable can only be realized by the doctrine of implied proof (*arthāpatti*).[1] Śrīdhara Svāmin has also defined *acintya* as: *'acintyaṁ tark-āsahaṁ yaj jñānam'*, that is the 'knowledge which is not susceptible to logical proof'; and Jīva Gosvāmin in his *Bhāgavata-sandarbha* (xvi) has defined *acintya* as *'durghaṭa ghaṭakatvaṁ hy=acintyatvam'*, that is, 'the power which can reconcile the impossible' or, in other words, that power which can effect difference-in-identity.

As an example of *acintya* (lit. unthinkable) or inscrutable power is cited the burning power of fire. It is a common experience that fire burns an object, but the power by which the fire is capable of burning, or the power of water which can extinguish fire are inscrutable. Similarly, poison kills a man, but he is sustained by milk; and various other experiences of daily life are observed, and accepted as truth, without any knowledge of their essential nature.

Rūpa Gosvāmin says in his *Saṁkṣepa-Bhāgavatāmṛtam* (I. 365-66; 370-71): 'The (simultaneous) existence of *ekatva* (oneness) and *pṛthakatva* (many-ness), *aṁśatva* (part-ness) *aṁśitva* (whole-ness) is not impossible in Puruṣottama. For example the *Bhāgavata* (X. lxix. 2) says: (Nārada) "Wonderful, indeed it is, that Śrī Kṛṣṇa married to sixteen thousand women, lives in their houses simul-

taneously." Though these qualities are contradictory, they eternally inhere in the Lord due to his *acintya-śakti;* still no bad qualities can touch him. This has been explained in the sixth chapter (prose) of the *Bhāgavata* (VI. ix, 33-36).'

This supra-rational category of *acintya-śakti* is necessary to explain the *Śrutis,* for example the statement of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (III. ix. 28): *vijñānam ānandam Brahma.* In the *Sarvasamvādinī,* Jīva Gosvāmin comments on this as follows: 'Are *vijñāna* and *ānanda* synonymous terms? Or do they have different meanings? It cannot be the former, because that would mean repetition; if taken in the latter sense, that is Brahman is a combination of both *vijñāna* and *ānanda,* then the objection would be that it postulates "*svagata-bheda*" which conflicts with the unity or oneness (*advaya tattva*).[2]

Similarly Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj (*CC.* I. v. 74-75) has explained the *Gītā* (IX. 4-5) on the basis of *acintya-śakti.*

The Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins* had postulated the supra-logical nature of the Lord's powers, and the supra-logical nature of the difference and identity of power and its possessor, as well as of the quality and substance only on scriptural authority. But possibly it was felt later that it was necessary to establish the categories on a logical basis. Thus it is while explaining *acintya-śakti,* that Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa introduces the category of *viśeṣa,* so that his exposition of *acintya* is different in nature from that of the Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins.* It is usually held that, Baladeva borrowed the category of *viśeṣa* from Mādhva system, but it is apparent that he got the idea of *viśeṣa* through his teacher Rādhā-Dāmodara the author of the *Vedānta-Syamantaka.* It is Rādha-Dāmodara, who introduced the category of *viśeṣa* in Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism to explain *acintya-śakti.* He explains *viśeṣa* as: *viśeṣa-balāt tad bheda-vyavahāro bhavati; viśeṣaś ca bheda-pratinidhiḥ bhed-ābhave' pi tat kāryam pratyāyayam. . . .*'[3] That is *viśeṣa* is not exactly a difference, yet it performs the functions of a difference, and produces the consciousness of a difference where really none exists. This is practically the definition given by Jayatīrtha, and is exactly this definition which Baladeva used when he tried to explain on a logical basis the exact nature of the supra-logicality (*acintyatva*).

Viśeṣa, according to Rādhā-Dāmodara and Baladeva, is a substitutive and demonstrative difference, and the key to the power by which there is a realization of difference in non-difference, and this power of *viśeṣa* is inherent in the Lord, who as the Bhagavat, exhibits Himself as the Brahman and Paramātman.[4]

It may be pointed out here, that according to Rādhā-Dāmodara, there are five *prameyas*, namely: *Īśvara, jīva, prakṛti, kāla* and *karma*. Exactly these five categories have been accepted by Baladeva and explained by him in the *G.Bh.* It is apparent, therefore, that, it was Rādhā-Dāmodara and not Baladeva who introduced these concepts in Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism, though the latter undoubtedly extended the logical implications of these concepts and categories, and integrated them with Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism.

In explaining the conception of *bhedābheda*, Sanātana Gosvāmin takes the sea and its wave as an example in his *Bṛhad-Bhāgavatāmṛta* (II. ii. 196). He states: 'A wave arises in one part of the sea and subsides in another part; the wave is identical with the sea so far as the wateriness is concerned, but is different from the sea in respect of the latter's depth, possession of (under water) jewels et cetera; but because the wave resolves into sea (water), it (wave) is said to be of the essential nature of the sea. Similarly the liberated souls are said to have become identical with Brahman when they attain the *tejas* of Kāraṇa-Brahma; but no individual soul can ever attain the concentrated bliss of the attainment of Brahman-hood, because they (the individuals) are naturally limited. Hence in liberation, there is non-difference between Brahman and individual souls because of the non-perception of difference between them, while in certain aspects difference (exists) due to the natural limitation of the individual soul even in a state of liberation. As Śrī-Śaṁkara-Bhagavatpāda has justly said: 'O Lord! even when the (sense) of difference is destroyed, I (become) thine; thou dost not (become) mine; the wave belongs to the sea, never does the sea belong to the wave.' This statement by Śaṁkara clearly establishes the principle of *bhedābheda*. The existence of the sense of 'thine' even after the destruction of individuality (*jīvatva*) due to nescience, establishes the existence of difference in the latter. Otherwise it is not proper to say 'Lord, I am thine' at the time of ultimate identification (of individual self with ultimate reality). It may be concluded therefore, that it is not possible for the limited rivers to attain the illimitable and bejewelled ocean-hood, only the disappearance of their external characteristics indicate that they have reached the ocean, (attained ocean-hood).[5]'

It has been stated above, that according to Jīva Gosvāmin, Brahman is undifferentiated *advaya-jñāna-tattva*. This must be distinguished from the similar phrase used by the monists. For, according to the latter view, Brahman is knowledge itself, without *śakti*; for once the existence of *śakti* in Brahman is admitted, then the effect of such *śakti* as an entity different from Brahman has

also to be admitted. Hence the monists maintain that Brahman is not the knower (because there is nothing other than Brahman). According to Jīva Gosvāmin, *advaya* is *svayaṁ-siddha-tadṛś-ātādṛsa-tattva-āntar-ābhāvāt* (TS. LI). Hence, according to Jīva Gosvāmin *advaya* does not mean 'without a second, or 'one and only', but, it signifies that, like which there is no second *tattva* or reality'; the ultimate reality is called *advaya,* because there is no other self-existent, conscious or unconscious principle similar to it. The *jīva*, though a conscious principle, similar to it, is not self-existent because it is subordinate to the Paramātman as the ultimate conscious principle. Nor is there any other self-existent unconscious, that is, material principle which is similar to it; for, such other principles as the phenomenal world, time, space and so on are also dependent on Paramātman. The ultimate reality is also called *advaya,* because though its infinite *śaktis* are its attributive adjuncts (*sva-śakty-eka-sahāyatvāt, TS.* LI) they cannot exist outside their ultimate locus, that is Bhagavat (*TS*, LVI). Therefore Brahman can be *advaya-tattva* even being the possessor of *śakti*, and Jīva Gosvāmin does not recognize any duality, between *śakti* and *śaktimat.*

The fundamental thesis of Śaṁkara is that, omniscience, omnipotence etc. are not predicable of the Supreme Reality. It is after and through the cosmic nescience that these qualities are attributed to him. Since His essence is knowledge itself, it is only by a metaphor that He may be called all-knowing. Omniscience and omnipotence are therefore, pseudo-real concepts. As Śaṁkara says: 'Hence the Lord's being a Lord, his omniscience, his omnipotence et cetera all depend on the limitation due to the adjuncts whose self is nescience; while in reality none of these qualities belong to the Self whose true nature is cleared by right knowledge, from all adjuncts whatever.' (*Br.S.* II. i. 14). This is the central idea underlying Śaṁkara's system, namely the denial of the reality of *śakti* and with it of the attributes of personality and self-consciousness in the ultimate reality. Śaṁkara's *Saguṇa-Brahman* is admittedly personal and consequently the qualities like omniscience and omnipotence belong to Him, but Śaṁkara does not attribute ultimate reality to *Saguṇa-Brahman.* Thus in Śaṁkara's system there appears to be an irreconcilable difference between the two aspects of Brahman.

According to Jīva Gosvāmin, Bhagavat is the ultimate reality and Brahman is the undifferentiated (*nirviśeṣa*) state of Bhagavat; Brahman is unqualified but Bhagavat is infinitely qualified by an infinity of blessed and perfect attributes. In Bhagavat all the *śaktis* are energized into a dynamic state, while in Brahman they remain

in a potential state. Therefore, Brahman is not predicable as a 'knower', though He is essentially knowledge; but Bhagavat being in possession of activated *śaktis* is omniscient, omnipotent etc. In between comes the Paramātman, who is the inner-controller being possessed of ample *māyā-śakti* and a part of *cit-śakti* (*kevalaṁ jñānam Brahm-eti śabdyate; antaryāmītvamaya-māyāśakti-pracura cicchaktyāṁśa-viśiṣṭaṁ Paramātm-eti; paripūrṇa-sarva-śakti-visiṣṭam Bhagavan iti*).[6]

In the *Sarvasamvādinī*, Jīva Gosvāmin has relied on Rāmānuja's interpretation of *Br.S.* from I.i. 2 to I.i. 12. For while commenting on these aphorisms, Rāmānuja states that, individual soul is not absolutely different from Brahman, but stands to it in the *bhedābheda* relation in so far as it is a part (*aṁśa*) of Brahman. Its non-difference from Brahman is essential (*svābhāvika*), while its difference is due to limiting adjuncts (*aupādhika*). Brahman is the sole cause of the world, free from all shadow of imperfections and comprises within itself all auspicious qualities such as omniscience, et cetera and is of the nature of supreme bliss. (*Br.S.* I. i. 4). Rāmānuja then rejects the theory of Brahman being undifferentiated intelligence and affirms that, 'the texts prove that Brahman possesses attributes such as thinking et cetera in their real literal sense.' (*Br.S.* I. i. 12).

Jiva Gosvāmin, however, differs from Rāmānuja and Madhva in his interpretation of *tat tvam asi*. He first says: *tat tvam-as-īty-ādi śāstram api tat prema-param eva jñeyam, tvam ev=āmuka itivat*'. Later he states: '*tatra jiv-eśarayor-atyant-ābhede yugapad-vidy-āvidyāśryatv-ādy-ānupapattiś ca purvam vivṛtā, 'tat tvam asi' ity-ādau lakṣaṇā tv-atyant-ābhede tad aṁśatve ca samān-aiva*.[7] Thus according to Jīva Gosvāmin *tat* is Brahman and *tvam* is *jīva* but the *asi* does not imply their identity, but is copulative and indicates the bond of love between Him and the individual soul.

According to the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas*, *tat tvam asi* is not a *mahā-vākya* but is a partial truth, while the essential basis of the Vedas is the *praṇava* or the mystic syllable *aum*, which has been elucidated in the *Gāyatrī*.[8] This view was also propounded by Madhva.[9]

According to Jīva Gosvāmin (*Sarva-samvādinī*, p. 21), who quotes from the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* quoted by Madhva in his commentary on the *Br.S.* I. i. 47 a *mahā-vākya* must be a composite whole *vākya-samudāya*) containing the following characteristics: *upakrama* (commencement), *upasaṁhāra* (conclusion), *abhyāsa* (repetition), *apurvatā* (that unseen virtue which is a relation superinduced, not before possessed, unseen but efficacious to connect the consequence

with its past and remote cause and to bring about in a distant period or in another world the relative effect), *phala* (result or reward) *arthavāda* (statements of *purāṇas* etc., corroborating Vedic injunctions necessary for the purpose of imparting an useful knowledge; they are authoritative only as forming a unitary passage with sentences inculcating an injunction by demonstrating the praiseworthiness of what is enjoined) and *upapatti* (reasoning). According to Jīva Gosvāmin, the meaning of a *mahā-vākya* must follow from the *upakrama* and the *upasaṁhāra*, that is, the hypothesis and conclusion must be reconcilable, and the *mahā-vākya* must be repeated many times in the text, similarly the *mahā-vākya* must be susceptible to the other means of interpretation (*liṁga*) mentioned above. Then the *mahā-vākya* has to be tested by means of *anvaya* (concomitance) and *vyatireka* (logical discontinuance)[10] and by the maxim of *gati-sāmānyāt* (*Br. S.* I.i.10), which establishes equal validity for all statements in the Upaniṣads. Only the *Praṇava* can be established as *mahā-vākya* by means of these logical proofs. It is held, that for these reasons Caitanya had told Prakāśānanda[11]: 'The meaning of the *Praṇava* has been explained in the *Gāyatrī*, and has been further elucidated in the *catuḥślokī*' by which is meant here four verses from the *Bh.P.* (II. ix. 32-35), also quoted by Caitanya. In these verses the Lord says: 'I alone existed before the creation; the phenomenal world-gross and subtle—and their cause the *pradhāna* did not exist; after creation I also exist; I am this phenomenal world; what remains after its dissolution is also I. That which can be perceived (as) without *artha* (i.e. *paramārtha-vastu* or Lord Himself), but which is not self-revealing within the Self, know that as my *māyā*; it is like an appearance and darkness.[12] Just as the great fundamental elements (*mahā-bhūtas*) diffuse themselves through all beings or remain outside them so also I am related to them, who bow to me.[13] That which is manifest always and everywhere (and can be established) by *anvaya* and *vyatireka*, is the real subject matter of inquiry by those who seek My Reality.'

It is in this discussion with Prakāśānanda, that Caitanya affirmed the doctrine of *pariṇāma* and explained *vivartta* as *dehe ātma-buddhi* (illusory identification of self with the body, *CC.* I. vii. 116). But by *pariṇāma*, Caitanya meant the *pariṇāma* of *śakti* and not of Brahman. Thus the objection that, if *vivartta-vāda* is not accepted, Brahman will become *vikārī* or modified, is answered. For though *Br. S.* I. iv. 26,[14] establishes the doctrine of *pariṇāma*, the *Śvetāśvatara* says that Brahman is '*niṣkalam, niṣkriyam, śāntam, niravadyam, nirañjanam*'. Therefore Jīva Gosvāmin says (*PS*, 72): '*svarūpavyūha-rūpa-dravyākhya-śaktirupen-aiva parinamate na tu*

svarūpeṇ-eti gamyate yath=aiva cintā-maṇiḥ.' That is, modification takes place in the *śakti* of Brahman not in the essence; just as the 'wish-fulfilling jewel' produces gold everyday without undergoing any substantial change, or as the magnet attract the iron. As Jīva Gosvāmin says in the *PS* (72): *'tasmān=nirvikār-ādisvabhāvena sato' pi Paramātmanaḥ acintya-sakty-ādinā pariṇām-ādikaṁ bhavati cinta-maṇy-ayaskānt-ādīnāṁ sarvārtha-prasava-loha-cālan-ādi-vat.* This is due to the *acintya-śakti* of Brahman which is signified in *Br. S.* II. i. 28. This point is further elucidated by Jīva Gosvāmin while commenting on *Bh. P.* XI. xxiv. 19 in this connection when he says: *'tatra sā māyākhyā pariṇāma-śaktiś ca dvividhā varṇyate; nimittāṁśo māyā upādānāṁśaḥ pradhānam iti; tatra kevalā śaktir nimittam; tad vyūha mayī t-ūpādānam iti vivekaḥ.* That is, *māyā* is the *pariṇāma śakti*, but is divisible into two; one of them is also called *māyā* which remains as pure *śakti* and is the efficient cause; while the material cause is *pradhāna* which is a conglomeration of *guṇas*.[15]

In the *PS.*, Jīva Gosvāmin, categorizes *nimitta-māyā* into *kāla*, *daiva*, *karman*, and *svabhāva*. *Kāla* is a function *(vṛtti, Bh.P.* III. v. 26) of Paramātman by which the equilibrium of the three *guṇas* in Prakṛti is disturbed and effects are brought about. The *karman* is described as the efficient cause of this disturbance, and constitutes acts done not by the real ego but by the empirical ago (*prākṛta ahaṁkāra*) in phenomenal existence, causing rebirth and bondage. Such acts as devotional worship, which proceed from the real ego of the *Jīva*, are not to be included in this category. That which directs *karman* towards the production of results is called *daiva* (*tad eva phal-ābhimukham abhivyaktam daivam*). The *svabhāva* consists of impressions left by *karman* (*tat saṁskāraḥ*).

The *upādāna-māyā* or material cause consists of *dravya*, *kṣetra*, *prāṇa*, *ātman* and *vikāra*. *Dravya* consists of the five elements in their subtle forms; *kṣetra* is *prakṛti*; *prāṇa* is the vital breath; *ātman* is the *prākṛta ahaṁkāra* or the empirical ego subject to sense experience; the *vikāra* consists of the five senses and the five gross elements, of which the body is a collocation (*saṁghāta*).

Here it may be argued on the basis of Sāṁkhya theory of evolution, that, Brahman cannot be the material cause of the world which is of a nature different from Brahman. To this Baladeva replies that, the effect need not necessarily be the same as or similar to the cause. If the cause and the effect were the same, then they cannot be called cause and effect (*Sūkṣma* on *G.Bh.* II. i. 13).

As Śaṁkara has contradicted his (i.e. Vyāsa's) conclusion of *Br. S.* I. iv. 26 in *Br. S.* I. iv. 27, Caitanya told Prakāśānanda that,

Śaṁkara attempted to show that Vyāsa is wrong, and established the *vivartta-vāda*. Prakāśānanda's difficulty was that, effects must have some cause behind them, and a mere efficient cause cannot explain the origination of the substratum of the effect; again, effects which are not true cannot have for their material cause that which is true, nor can they have for their material cause that which is absolutely non-existent. So, since the material cause of the world can neither be true nor be anything which is absolutely non-existent, the monists are forced to admit as material cause a category which neither exists nor non-exists in order to explain this false world appearance which is neither existent nor non-existent. Hence 'the concept of *avidyā*', as Prof. S. N. Das Gupta has pointed out 'is thus plainly unintelligible and inconsistent.'[16] To obviate this difficulty, Vidyāraṇya writes in the *Pañcadaśī:* (III. 38.40) 'There is a divine power which controls everything from the bliss-sheath downwards. . . . This power shines with a semblance of consciousness (because) it is imbued with the reflection of *cit;* when he is associated with this power Brahman is called *Īśvara*.' We have already seen that this is the position of the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* also, only to them the highest reality is God with all his *śaktis*, that is the reverse of the monistic position.

According to Caitanya, the world is not eternal but not false either. Had the world been eternally existent, as it is, then the causal operation would become meaningless; had it been absolutely non-existent, then the notion of causal operation to produce the absolutely non-existent would be equally meaningless. The world exists in the ultimate cause in an unmanifested form, and is produced in a manifest form by the Lord's power.

According to Caitanya, *jīva-tattva* is *śakti* and *Kṛṣṇa-tattva* is *śaktimat* of which the proof will be found in the *VP*. and the *Gītā*.' (*CC*. I. vii. 12). According to the *VP*. (VI. vii. 21) 'Viṣṇu-*śakti*, is called *parā-śakti;* there is another *śakti* known as *kṣetrajña-śakti*, while another *śakti* is called *avidyā-karma-śakti*.' A similar statement is found in the *Gītā* (VII. 5) on which Viśvanātha Cakravartin has commented that, *jīva-śakti* has been called superior to *avidyā* or *māyā-śakti*, because the former is sentient while latter is insentient. But as Jīva Gosvāmin has explained in the *PS* (26-39), *jīva* is a part of the Bhagavat as the ground or the substratum of the *taṭasthā jīva-śakti*, and not of the Bhagavat as the displayer of the *svarūpa-śakti (jīva-śakti-viśiṣṭasy-aiva tava jīvo'ṁsa, na tu śuddhasya, jīvasya tac=chakti-rūpatven-aiv-āṁśatvam ity=etad vyañjayati)*. Jīva-*śakti* is called *taṭasthā* because it does not belong to the category of *māyā-śakti* which is external to the Bhagavat or to the internal *cit-śakti* which appertains solely to Bhagavat. (*atha*

taṭastham ca ubhaya-koṭav-apraviṣṭatvād eva). Still the *jīva-śakti* is called *cid-rūpa* to distinguish it from the insentient *māyā-śakti*.

About the relation between *jīva* and Bhagavat, *Jīva* Gosvāmin has said in the *PS* (31) that *jīva* is a part of the *śakti* of Brahman (*tatra śakti-rūpatven-aiv-aṁśatvam vyañjayati*). This also follows from the *Gītā* (XV.7) and the *Br.S.* (II.iii.43 *G.Bh.*) because, *jīva* being limited by *māyā* cannot be a part of Brahman who is free from *māyā*, not can it be said that *jīva* is a part of Brahman in the same sense as a small piece of stone severed from a large stone; for, according to the scriptures Brahman cannot be divided. Therefore Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa concludes that, in reality *jīva* is a part of Bhagavat, being a manifestation of His *śakti* (*tattvam ca tasya tac=chaktitvāt, siddham*).

But as *jīva-śakti* is not located in Bhagavat, how can He be related to the former? In answer to this objection, Jīva Gosvāmin quotes the following verse from the *Bh.P.* (XI. xxii. 7): 'All other minor *tattvas* or principles are seen entering into one, and all *tattvas* exist more or less either as cause or as effect.' From this Jīva Gosvāmin concludes that *jīva-śakti* has projected itself (or has been projected) in the Śaktimat-Paramātman (*śaktimati Paramātmani jīv-ākhya-śakty-anupraveśa-vivakṣy-aiva tayor-aikya-pakṣe hetur-ity=abhipraiti*). (*PS.* 34.)

But though *jīva* is a part of Bhagavat, the former must be distinguished from the *avatāras* who are also His part. Hence, as Caitanya explained to Sanātana Gosvāmin, Svayaṁ Bhagavān is *advaya-jñāna-tattva* and His essential form is with His *śaktis;* He emanates in two forms: *svāṁśa* (authentic part) from which the *avatāras* are evolved and *vibhinn-āṁśa* (dispersed part) which forms the *jīva*. (*CC* II. xxii. 5-7). The two categories of *svāṁśa* and *vibhinn-āṁśa* are mentioned by Sanātana Gosvāmin in his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary while commenting on *Bh.P.* X. lxxxvii. 20), where he has also quoted a verse from the *Mahā-Varāha-purāṇa*. Jīva Gosvāmin, however, makes the position very clear in the *PS* (45): *tasya dvividhā aṁśaḥ svāṁśaḥ vibhinn-āṁśas ca; vibhinn-āṁśas-taṭasthā śakty-ātmikā jīva iti vakṣyate.*

According to Caitanya, Īśvara is like a roaring fire and the *Jīvas* are like so many sparks of the sizes of atoms and infinite in number, (*CC.* I. vii. 111), hence the former is known as *vibhu-cit* and the latter as *aṇu-cit;* but the *avatāras* are always *vibhu-cit*. This position has been developed by Jīva Gosvāmin in the *PS*. According to him, as Bhagavat is the ground of the *jīva-śakti* the *jīva* is a part, but an infinitesimal part of Bhagavat; moreover, as the *jīva*, as point-

ed out above, is liable to come under the influence of *māyā-śakti* it cannot come into contact with His essential *śakti* (*svarūpa-śakti*), which is unaffected by this influence. But on account of its ultimate affinity with Bhagavat, the *jīva* always has the capacity of releasing himself from bondage, but even in a state of liberation the *jīva* retains its identity, but is placed beyond the influence of *māyā*.

To explain the essential character of *jīva*, Jīva Gosvāmin cites the authority of Jāmātṛmuni, said to have been a predecessor of Rāmānuja. According to this authority, *jīva* is neither a deity, nor a man, nor a movable animal, nor an immovable plant; it is neither the body, nor the senses, nor the mind, nor life, nor intellect; it is neither an insentient object, nor liable to change, nor yet consisting of mere consciousness. It has the capacity to illuminate itself (*svasmai svayaṁ-prakāśaḥ*), uniform (*eka-rūpaḥ*) possessor of its own identity (*sva-rūpa-bhāk*), conscious (*cetanaḥ*), capable of pervasion (*vyāpti-śīlaḥ*), possessing consciousness and bliss (*cit-ānand-ātmakaḥ*), subject of ego (*aham-ārthaḥ*), different in different field (body) (*prati-kṣetraṁ bhinnaḥ*), atomic in size (*aṇuḥ*), always pure (*nitya-nirmalaḥ*), individual possessor of the attributes of knowledge, action, and enjoyment (*jñātṛtva-kartṛtva-bhoktṛtva-nija-dharmakaḥ*), and the possessor of the natural tendency of finally resolving itself into a part of the Paramātman (*Paramātmaika-śeṣa-svabhāvaḥ*).

The *jīva* eternally retains its identity. Its presence in the organic body is due to the *māyā-śakti*, but it is distinct from the body and senses. Still it is not an aggregation of consciousness (*jñāna-matr-ātmaka na ca*) and neither is it insentient in nature (*na jaḍaḥ*). It is an eternal element floating about in time and space within a controlled system of state and activities, but is capable of maintaining its identity through all the states it must pass and all the actions it may perform. It possesses attributes of action (*kartṛtva*), but that too is derived from God; this does not mean, however, that it is merely an agent and has no independence of action; it has its limited area of free-will, but in ultimate analysis cannot exercise its power or free-will without His permission. As Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa says in the *G.Bh.* II. iii. 42: '*kart-āpi para-preritaḥ karot-īti kartṛtvaṁ jīvasya na nivāryate; tasmāt sa jīvaḥ prayojya-kartā pareśas tu hetukartā; tad anumatim antarā asau kartuṁ na śaknoti*'. Just as the *jīva* is atomic in size, so he has, infinitesimal or, as Viśvanātha Cakravartin calls it *anu-svātantrya*, that is 'atomic independence',[17] hence the *jīva* is called by Caitanya the 'eternal slave of Kṛṣṇa'. (*CC.* II. xx. 101).

The *jīvas*, as Caitanya explained to Sanātana Gosvāmin, are of two kinds, namely *nitya-mukta* (freed souls) and *nitya-saṁsārī* (souls in eternal bondage). (*CC.* II. xxii. 8-11).

This has been very clearly enunciated by Jīva Gosvāmin in *PS* (44): *'tad evam anantā eva jīvākhyā taṭasthāḥ śaktayaḥ; tatra tāsāṁ varga-dvayam; eko-vargaḥ anādita eva Bhagavad unmukhaḥ anyas tu anādita eva Bhagavat-parāṁmukhaḥ svabhāvataḥ tadīya jñāna-bhāvāt tadīya jñān-ābhāvat ca'*. That is, there are two class groups among the infinite number of *jīvas* or *taṭastha-śaktimats*; one class is devoted to Bhagavat from eternity, while the *jīvas* belonging to the other class have turned their faces away from Him also from the beginning of time. The *jīvas* of the former class are never influenced by *māyā*; on the other hand, the grace of the Lord descends on them in the shape of his *svarūpa-śakti*. But the *jīvas* of the second group not being protected by His grace, in the shape *svarūpa-śakti*, can be overcome by *māyā*, for though the *jīvas* are essentially *cit*, they are atomic in size.

Jīva Gosvāmin has further classified the graceless *jīvas* in the *Prīti-sandarbha* as *vahirmukha* and *vidveṣin*. The *vahirmukha jīvas* are indifferent, averse to Bhagavat, and may be sub-divided into two groups, namely, (1) those who having obtained a sight of the deity are still absorbed in mundane affairs; (2) those who having a sight of the deity directly disregard him. The *Vidveṣin* or hostile *jīvas* are also sub-divided into two groups, namely, (1) the positively ill-disposed *jīvas*, who having received the grace of the Bhagavat are incapable of relishing it due to their lack of zest (*aruci*), and (2) those who have a distorted perception (*vaikṛtya*). These four types are likened to four types of men who develope an aversion to sweet foods for different reasons: one may be organically so defective that he is unable to realize sweetness, though when seeing others enjoying it, he does not despise it; a second person may despise sweet food; a third person being fond of foods with sour or bitter taste is hostile to sweet food; while a fourth person's sense is so depraved or damaged that sweet food tastes to him as bitter. None of these types can ever have a true realization, unless they are cured of their defects through the action of *prema-bhakti*.

The salvation of a graceless person comes, when after travelling through cycles of life and death, he comes into contact with a liberated soul, who alone can cure him. (*CC.* II. xxii. 12-13). Then he turns his mind towards Kṛṣṇa and gradually progresses along the path of devotion. Kṛṣṇa is also always eager to cast his power of blissful enjoyment in the heart of his worshippers and salve their

bruised soul to make them fit to be his devotees. As Jīva Gosvāmin says in the *Pr.S.* (65): *tasyā hlādinyā eva kāpi sarv-ānand-ātiśāyinī vṛttir nityaṁ bhakta-vṛndeṣv-eva nikṣipamānā Bhagavat prītyākhyayā vartate; atas tad anubhavena Śrī-Bhagavān api śrīmad bhakteṣu prīty-atiśayaṁ bhajata iti.* But no amount of effort can release a person without His grace, and His grace cannot be obtained unless the mind has been rendered free from impurities. As Jīva Gosvāmin says in the Pr S. (7) '*tatas tat-karaṇa-śudhy=apekṣh-āpi tat-śakti-pratiphalan=ārtham eva jñeya*'. For this *karaṇa-śuddhi* (lit. purification of instruments or *citta-śuddhi* (purification of the mind) it is essential to perform various action to promote *bhakti* as will be related in a later chapter. When the mind is purified of all impurities, it becomes capable of receiving the reflection of His grace or *śakti*, and is capable of intuiting Him; at that stage the individual attains sameness[18] with Him by virtue of His self-revealing power, As Jīva Gosvāmin says (*Pr.S.* 7): '*tad evam tat prakāśena niḥśeṣa-śuddha-cittatve siddhe puruṣa-karaṇāni tadīya svaprakāśatā-śakti-tādātmy-āpannatayā eva tat prakāśāt-ābhimānavanti syuḥ.*'

The basic idea is that, God is ever eager to redeem the lost souls who is engulfed in the grasp of *māyā;* as soon as he makes an effort to release himself, He showers His divine energy in the devotee,[19] whereupon *māyā* is transformed into knowledge, *vidyā*, and burns the adjuncts of the *jīva*, which become its fuel, and is extinguished (Śrīdhara Svāmin on *Bh.P.* I. iii. 34). Then comes *mukti* or complete immersion in the divine bliss of coming into contact with his attributes (*Bhagavat-lakṣan-ānanda-nimagnatā*).

Mukti may be of five kinds: (1) *sālokya*, attainment of the same *loka* or place of divine habitation with the deity; (2) *sārṣṭya*, attainment of similar magnificence or divine power; (3) *sārūpya*, attainment of similar divine form; (4) *sāmīpya*, attainment of proximity or nearness to the divinity; (5) *sāyujya* contact with the divine Self.

Of these, the *sāyujya mukti* is almost like the *mokṣa*[20] of the monists, and is indeed destined for the *jñānīns*, but according to the *vaiṣṇavas, jīva* never becomes really identical with divinity; still a *vaiṣṇava* almost abhors the *sāyujya mukti*; the other types of *mukti* confers on the individuals the same enjoyment, but does not indicate that a *jīva* will ever enjoy co-equal power with the Lord, or share His power.

The Buddhist doctrine of impermanence implies a negative absolute on a substratum of vacuity, and the ultimate release is an indefinable *nirvāṇa*. The monistic idea is of a Brahman, an ineffably

positive absolute, but in which all features and action and energy cease, because in that they never existed and are mere illusions of mind; hence the ultimate release for the monist is an absolute identity with Brahman in an indefinable state. The Gaudīya-*vaiṣṇavas* do not actually deny this monistic possibility of ultimate merger with Brahman, but they pine for a yet higher state of realization, a state of perpetual activated bliss. But this state is equally undefinable. As Vilvamaṁgala says:

> *madhuraṁ madhuraṁ vapur asya vibhor*
> *madhuraṁ madhuraṁ vadanaṁ madhuram*
> *madhu-gandhi madhu-smitam etad aho*
> *madhuraṁ madhuraṁ madhuraṁ madhuraṁ*[21]

A *vaiṣṇava* can apprehend Kṛṣṇa, but then he fails to describe Him. A monist says 'He is not this, He is not this;' and a *vaiṣṇava* says: 'He is bliss, verily He is bliss.'

This is the central idea of *acintya-bhedābhedā;* after his journey through innumerable cycles of birth and death, a *jīva* is at last released, not in a vacuum, nor indeed to be merged in an indefinable union with the ultimate reality, but to retain his identity and enjoy His bliss. The *jīva* still remains an atomic-*cit*, because he still retains an atomic non-empirical ego (*aprākṛta aham*).

1. See Appendix A.
2. *Sarvasamvādinī* ed. by Rasik Mohan Vidyā-bhūṣaṇa, Vaṁgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, ed. (1327 B.S.), p. 38. *Advayatattva* or unity means that, Brahman as the ultimate reality is self-sufficient, wholly independent, and stands by itself, Jīva Gosvāmin has said elsewhere *'atha ekam eva svarūpaṁ śaktitvena śaktimattvena ca virājati.'* This is based on the *Bh.P.*
3. In the *Siddhāntaratna* (viii. 34) Baladeva states that his teacher was Rādhā-Dāmodara. (See Introduction p. iv to *Vedānta-syāmantaka*. Ed. by U. C. Bhattacarya, Punjab Oriental Series, No. xix, Lahore, 1929). This is corroborated by a verse. quoted in the introduction to Baladeva's *Sāhitya Kaumudī* N. S. P. Bombay, 1897). For *viśeṣa* see ibid. p. 11.
4. *Sūkṣma* on *G.Bh.* III. ii. 31; Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa *Siddhānta-ratna* (Sarasvati Bhavan Texts, Benares, 1927).
5. *Bṛhad-Bhāgavatāmṛta*, II, ii. 196. The verse attributed to Śaṁkara here is as follows:

   satyapi bhed-āpagame nātha tav-āhaṁ na māmakīnas tvam
   sāmudro hi taraṁgaḥ kvacana samudro na tāraṁgaḥ

   It should be noted that no one with the remotest connection with Madhva would have quoted Śaṁkara so respectfully and as an authority.
6. *Bhāgavat-sandarbha*, VI. This is based on *Bh.P.* I. ii. 11. See also Caitanya's exposition to Prakāśānanda, *CC*, I. vii. 111-13.
7. *Prīti-sandarbha*, I and VI. Rāmānuja has explained *tat tvam asi* on the basis of *Samānādhikaraṇa*, *Br. S.* I. i-13 and *Vedārthasaṁgraha* LXXXII. Madhva in his commentary on the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* reads it as *sa ātmā a-tat-tvam-asi*. Apparently Jīva Gosvāmin's explanation of *tat tvam asi* was not found to be entirely satisfactory. Hence Viśvanātha Cakravartin proposed that just as king's officers are called *rājapuruṣa*, similarly the phrase establishes a subordinate relationship between *tat* and *tvam* and not their identity. There is also another explanation: *tasya-tvam-tattvam* (*ṣaṣṭhi tatpuruṣa* compound), therefore *tat-tvam asi* means: *asya* (of that Brahman) *tvam* (you individual soul) *asi* (are) meaning 'You are of Brahman' i.e. His slave. This exegesis based on grammar,

seems to be open to even greater objection than the use of *lakṣaṇā*. See also *TS* LII.

8. Caitanya to Prakāśānanda *CC*. II. xxv. 78. In support of Caitanya's views see *Praśna Up*. V. 2; *Māṇḍukya-Up*. I. *Taittirīya-Up*. I. viii: *Gīta* xvii, 27. *Yoga-sūtra, Samādhipāda*, 27.
9. *Anuvyākhyāna*, I. 9-11. According to Madhva, *bharga* (of the *Gāyatrī*) indicates Him, and of the *vyāhṛti*, *bhūḥ* means *bhūmataḥ* because Brahman is abundance (of being), *bhuvaḥ* means *bhāvanād*, because He brings everything into existence, and *svaḥ* means *sutvād* because He possesses the attributes of felicity.
10. The statement 'wherever there is smoke there is fire' is an example of *anvaya*, and 'where there is no fire there is no smoke' is an example of *vyatireka*. The same criterion for testing a *mahā-vākya* was adopted by Sadānanda in his *Vedāntasāra*, *lxxvii*.
11. For the meeting of Caitanya and Prakāśānanda see above p. 213 CC. I, vii. 101-139; II. xxv. 72-112.
12. Sun's reflection can be seen when there is sunlight, and not in darkness; but the reflection is not the sun neither is it located in the sun; similarly *māyā* can appear only when He releases His *māyā-śakti*, (see below), but it does not pertain to Him.
13. According to Jīva Gosvāmin (*Krama-sandarva*) this verse (*Bh.P*. II. ix. 34) explains the mystique of *preman* (*premno rahasyatvam*).
14. However, in *Br.S*. I. iv. 26. (*ātma-kṛteḥ pariṇāmat*) Śaṁkara says: *Brahmaṇa eva vikār-ātman-āyaṁ pariṇāmaḥ*.... (Brahman is the material cause of the world for that reason also, that the sacred text speaks of Brahman and its modification into the self of its effect as co-ordinated). See *G.Bh*. 1-i. 26-27: *'nimittaṁ kūṭasthaṁ tu upādānam iti'*.
15. Here *vyūha* seems to stand for *guṇa-vyūha Bh.P*. IV. xxix, 70. See *Vedāntasāra* of Sadānanda (xxvi): *śakti-dvaya-vad ajñān-opahitaṁ caitanyaṁ, sva-pradhānatayā nimittaṁ sv-opādhi-pradhānatayā upādānam ca bhavati*. But after defining *ajñāna*, the *Vedāntasāra* xiii quotes *Śvetāśvatara*, (I. 3) as: *dev-ātma-śaktiṁ svaguṇai nirguḍhām* (the self-power of God (is) hidden in his own qualities). For *āvaraṇa* and *vikṣepa śaktis* see ibid, xxiii.
16. S. N. Das Gupta, op. cit. II. p. 13.
17. Viśvanātha Cakravartin: *Sarvārtha-darśinī*, VII. 14, X. 87.20, 32, 38.
18. The word used here is *tādātmya*, which is different from 'identity'; there is no really English equivalent for *tādātmya* which means something like this: when a stream of water falls into a ditch, there is *tādātmya* between the ditch and the stream so long as the fall continues; or when two strips of metal are beaten together to form one strip, there is '*tādātmya*', but the two metals do not loose their separate identities.
19. See Tagore: '*āmār milan lāgi tumi ascha kabe theke*'.
20. A *vaiṣṇava* cannot countenance even the desire for *mokṣa*. As Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj says: 'Verily, deceit is but another name for dark nescience and includes the desire for *dharma, artha, kāma*, and *mokṣa*. But, of these the desire for *mokṣa* is the worst type of deceit which causes the disappearance of devotion to Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇabhakti*). CC. I. i. 50-51.
21. 'Bliss, bliss indeed is Śrī-Kṛṣṇa (*vibhu*); bliss, bliss is His face, bliss, bliss, is His fragrance; bliss, bliss is His smile; bliss, bliss, bliss bliss.' *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, (XCII), which was one of the two texts brought by Caitanya from south India. This verse has been beautifully rendered by Kṛṣṇa-dās Kaviraj in CC. II. xxi. 116-17, where Caitanya explains this verse to Sanātana Gosvāmin. See also Tagore: *madhur tomār śeṣ ye nā pāi*.

APPENDIX A

Arthāpatti

Definition means that the special characteristic is existent only in the object under definition and nowhere else, hence its difference with others has to be pointed out, before the identity of the object can be defined or established.

Arthāpatti, is generally translated as 'presumption' or 'implication' where a certain uncontradicted hypothesis, without the assumption of which an obscure fact of experience becomes inexplicable, is imperatively demanded for the explanation of an observed fact of experience. Thus, when one knows from an independent source that Devadatta is living, though not found at his house a natural hypothesis would be that he must be somewhere outside the house; for, otherwise either the present observation of his absence from the house is false, or the previous knowledge that he is living is false. Similarly, if Devadatta is not seen to eat, but is visibly improving in health, it has to be presumed that he is eating stealthily. The power or *śakti* of Brahman is implied in many passages of the scriptures; these passages do not clearly state that Brahman has *śakti*, but they cannot be explained unless *śakti* of Brahman is inferred by implication.

The *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā* and most *vedānta* schools accept *arthāpatti* as a separate *pramāṇa*. The Mādhvas however, do not subscribe to this view and include *arthāpatti* as a mode of *anumāna*.

CHAPTER XXIV

RĀDHĀ-KṚṢṆA

The Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* believe that the *Bh P.* is Vyāsa's own commentary on the *Br.S.*, and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa has quoted the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* in his *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* (X. 394) as an authority to uphold this view. Therefore, it is maintained that any statement in the *Bh.P.* has equal validity with the Upaniṣadic statements. The *Bh.P.* (I. iii. 28) after describing nineteen incarnations states:

ete c=āṁśa-kalāḥ puṁsaḥ Kṛṣṇas tu Bhagavān svayam,
Indr-āri-vyākulaṁ lokaṁ mṛḍayanti yuge yuge.[1]

On the authority of this verse, Jīva Gosvāmin maintains that Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata* is not an *avatāra* or an incarnate being, but the deity himself (*avatārin*), manifested in his perfect form as the Bhagavat, or the *Advaya-jñāna-tattva*.

Kṛṣṇa or *Advaya-jñāna-tattva* has three forms (*rūpas*) namely (1) Brahman the undifferentiated, formless, bliss-in-itself; (2) Paramātman or the inner controller; and (3) Bhagavān, who is the Lord of Para-vyoman, husband of Lakṣmī, also known as *pūrṇa-tattva*.[2]

There are three types of *avatāras* of Kṛṣṇa, namely *aṁś-āvataras*, *guṇ-āvatāras* and *śakty-avatāras*. Kārṇarṇava-śāyin, Garbhoda-śāyin Kṣiroda-śāyin and Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha etc. are *aṁś-āvataras*.

Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are known as *guṇ-āvatāras;* they emanate from the Garbhoda-śāyin and are intended respectively to create, maintain, and destroy the world; they are known as *guṇ-āvatāras* because they are the presiding deities of the three *guṇas*, namely *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*, Viṣṇu presiding over *sattva*, Brahmā over *rajas* and Śiva over *tamas*.

The best of the *jīvas* like Sanaka the sage, Pṛthu, Vyāsa etc. are sometimes imbued with the Lord's power and knowledge, and they are known as *śakty-avatāras or śakty-āveś-āvatāras*.

Besides the incarnations, Kṛṣṇa can manifest Himself in *prakāśa-rūpa* and *vilāsa-rūpa*. When He appears in different forms which retain His essence, those forms are known as *vilāsa--rūpa*, but when He manifests Himself in the same form but in different bodies, they are called *prakāśa-rūpa;* the form in which the same Kṛṣṇa married sixteen thousand women is known as his *prakāśa-*

rūpa (*Bh.P.* X. 1. ix. 2) and (X. xxiii. 3). Nārāyaṇa, Balarāma, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Saṁkarṣaṇa are His *vilāsa-rūpas*.

Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha are also mentioned as Kṛṣṇa's emanations as four *vyūhas* as well as *prabhāva-vilāsa* (*CC.* I. v. 20; II. xx. 155-170). Kṛṣṇa as Nārāyaṇa rests in Para-vyoman with the four *vyūhas*, just as Kṛṣṇa in Dvārakā is associated with four of them. From Vāsudeva emanates Keśava, Nārāyaṇa and Mādhava; from Saṁkarṣaṇa emanates Govinda, Viṣṇu and Madhusūdana, from Pradyumna emanates, Trivikrama, Vāmana and Śrīdhara; and from Aniruddha emanates Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha and Dāmodara. These twelve emanations are the presiding deities of the twelve months respectively beginning from Mārgaśīrṣa. The four *vyūhas* have eight *vilāsa* forms; Vāsudeva's *vilāsa* forms are Adhokṣaja and Puruṣottma; Saṁkarśaṇa's *vilāsa* forms are Upendra and Acýuta; Pradyumna's *vilāsa* forms are Nṛsiṁha, and Janārdana; and Aniruddha's *vilāsa* forms are Hari and Kṛṣṇa[3].

The *dhāman* (abode) of Kṛṣṇa is located in the highest plane. The universe consists of fourteen *bhūvanas* (worlds) of which seven are *lokas*, namely Pṛthivī, Antarikṣa, Svarga, Mahar, Jana, Tapas, and Satya; the other seven are *pātālas*, namely, Atala, Vitala, Sutala, Rasātala, Talātala, Mahātala and Pātāla. These are enveloped by eight sheaths or *āvaraṇas* of Prakṛti, beyond which there is the enveloping ocean called Kāraṇa-samudra or Virajā. Beyond this is the Siddha-*loka*, the abode of *nirviśeṣa* Brahman, and the goal of the *jñānins* (monists); those who obtain *sāyujya-mukti* attain this *loka*, where there is only *cit-svarūpa* divested of all display of *śakti*. Beyond Siddha-*loka* lies the Para-vyoman or Vaikuṇṭha, the abode of Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī attended by three *śaktis*, namely, Śrī, Bhū, and Līlā. In Para-vyoman, there is *cit-śakti-vilāsa* (display) and here the *avatāras* of Bhagavat (Kṛṣṇa) reside with their respective retinues, but some of them reside in Brahmāṇḍa. Only the adepts in *bhakti-yoga* can attain Para-vyoman. Beyond the Para-vyoman lies the Kṛṣṇa-*loka*, which is known as Goloka or Śvetadvīpa. Goloka being the realization of Kṛṣṇa's *hlādinī-śakti*, which is the intrinsic energy of bliss, it is the abode of an excess of intrinsic divine bliss (*svarūpānanda-sukhotkarṣa*). Corresponding to the celestial abode of Kṛṣṇa, there are also terrestrial abodes, namely, Dvārakā, Mathurā, Gokula and Vṛndāvana. Of these, Gokula and Vṛndāvana are higher than Dvārakā or Mathurā, because in the latter places Kṛṣṇa manifested his majesty and magnificence, so these are attainable by those *bhaktas* who are attracted by these qualities. But the higher types of *bhaktas*, namely, those who are possessed of *sakhya- vātsalya-* or

madhura-bhāva find themselves in Gokula or Vṛndāvana, which is the highest terrestrial abode of Kṛṣṇa, though both are included within Vraja-dhāma. The difference between the terrestrial and celestial abodes is that in Vṛndāvana, Kṛṣṇa manifests both his *prākṛta* (mundane) and *aprākṛta* (celestial) *līlās*,[4] while in Golaka, only the latter is displayed. Kṛṣṇa's manifest and unmanifest *līlās* and the *prākṛta*- and *aprākṛta- dhāmans*, are the expression, symbolical or ostensible, of a mystical inter-relation between the finite and the infinite, the phenomenal and the transcendental.

Like the *dhāmans*, the *parikaras* (retinues) of Kṛṣṇa even in his terrestrial abodes are eternal and resemble Him not only in intrinsic divine qualities, but also in *prakṛti* (temperament) *veśa* (dress) and *līlā*. The Yādavas are His *parikaras* in Mathurā and Dvārakā, and the *gopas* and *gopīs* (cowherds and milkmaids) in Vṛndāvana.

Kṛṣṇa or Bhagavat is free from the influence of the *guṇas*, which can influence only the *jīvas* and are due to His *māyā-śakti*. The Bhagavat has three *śaktis* (energies) which possess the characteristics of *acintyatva* and *svābhāvikatva*, that is, the conception of *śakti* is beyond the reach of human intelligence or logical proof (*tarkāsaha*), and the *śaktis* are capable of bringing about effects, which do not appear, possible rationally. The relation between *śakti* and *śaktimat* (possessor of *śakti*) is of *acintya-bhedābheda* (inscrutable relation of difference in identity). But, as stated above, in the *PS*, Jīva Gosvāmin (34; 37; 41) has discussed the relation between śakti and śaktimat, and on the basis of *Bh.P.* (XI. xxii. 7 and X. xv. 35) has enunciated the doctrine of *paraspar-ānupraveśa*, which may be rendered as 'mutual pervasion'. The *śaktis* are also natural (*svābhāvika*) to the Bhagavat.

The Bhagavat possesses three *śaktis*, namely (1) *svarūpa*, (2) *taṭasthā* (3) *bahiraṁgā*. The *svarūpa*- is also called *antaraṁgā*- or *cit*-, the *taṭasthā*- as *jīva* and the *bahiraṁgā*- as *māyā-śakti*, and corresponds to the *parā*-, *kṣetrajñā*- and *avidyā-śakti* mentioned in the *VP* (VI. vii. 60).

As the name, implies, the *svarūpa*- or *antaraṁgā*- *śakti* constitutes the intrinsic energy of Bhagavat, and is inseparable from Him, indeed His essential nature is manifested through this *śakti* which is located in His very self. As the Bhagavat is Saccidānanda, the *svarūpa-śakti* has also three attributes corresponding to the three aspects: in the *sat* aspect it is *sandhinī-śakti;* in the *cit* aspect it is *saṁvit-śakti*, and in the *ānanda* aspect, it is the *hlādinī-śakti*. Of these three, the qualities of *sandhinī* devolves into *saṁvit*, and the

latter's qualities into *hlādinī;* hence *hlādinī* according to Śrīdhara Svāmin (*VP.* 1. xii. 69) is the principal energy.

In explaining *sandhinī-śakti,* Jīva Gosvāmin in his *Bhagavat-sandarbha* (118) quotes from the *Chāndogya.* (VI. ii. 1): '*Sad eva saumy=edam agre āsīt*' and states that *sandhinī* is the *śakti* by which the Bhagavat creates and maintains and which obtains for Him all objects irrespective of time and space; by the *samvit-śakti* He knows and is known; and by the *hlādinī-śakti,* he enjoys and is enjoyed.[5] The *svarūpa-śakti* cannot be touched by *māyā,* hence it is called *śuddhā.* Thus Bhagavat being uncontaminated by *māyā,* He can be attained only when the *jīva* is no longer under the control of *māyā,* that is under its evolutes, the *prakṛti* and the three *guṇas.*

Though the three *śaktis* are simultaneously manifested, their potency is not always in equal proportion. When the *sandhinī-śakti* predominates, it is known as the *ādhāra-śakti,* which is responsible for the creation of the *dhāmans* etc; when the *samvit-śakti* predominates, the result is knowledge, and it is this *śakti* which causes knowledge to illumine the minds of the devotees; and when the *hlādinī-śakti* predominates, it brings about *bhakti* (devotion). When the three *śaktis* are combined in equal potency, then the *viśuddha-sattva,* is known as *mūrti* (*Bhagavat-sandarbha,* 118).

Of all the three *śaktis,* the *hlādinī* is the most important. The Bhagavat bestows it on his devotees, and the *śakti* then is transformed into *prīti* (love), which again is enjoyed by Bhagavat. Thus the rapport between the *bhakta* and the Bhagavat is established and maintained by the *hlādinī-śakti.*

The *bahiraṁgā-* or *māyā-śakti* is also a *śakti* of the Bhagavat, but it is always extrinsic and alien to Him, just as the *antaraṁga-svarūpa-śakti* is intrinsic and integral of Bhagavat. Like light and darkness, Bhagavat and *māyā* cannot exist together. The limit of *māyā's* reach is the *Karaṇārṇava,* beyond which are the terrestrial abodes of Bhagavat. Hence the *māyā* always remains outside the *dhāmans* and the essence of Bhagavat, wherefore she is called *bahiraṁgā* (extrinsic). *Māyā* cannot relate herself to Bhagavat, even when He descends to the phenomenal world to manifest his *līlā.* This peculiar relation between Bhagavat and *māyā,* by which He, being the *śaktimat,* cannot be predicated by his own *śakti* is due to his inscrutable power. As the *Bh.P.* (I. xi. 39) says: "Just as the intellect, (which has been granted) asylum by the Bhagavat, does not attach itself to the physical pleasures or pains, even though it (the intellect) remains in the body, similarly the Lord is not attached to *māyā*

even though He is in *māyā;* this indeed is His magnificence'. That *māyā* is a *śakti* of the Bhagavat also follows from the *Gītā* VII. 14 and *Bh.P.* II. ix. 33.

Māyā has two functions and two corresponding states, known as, *jīva-māyā* and *guṇa-māyā*. *Jīva-māyā* obscures the essential nature of the *jīvas* from themselves and induces in them fondness for material objects. Guṇa-māyā is equivalent to *pradhāna* or *prakṛti* out of which emerges the three evolutes, namely, *sattva, rajas* and *tamas,* which are the constituents of the material world. The Lord Himself is both the material and efficient cause of the world; but in a limited sense, *guṇa-māyā* is the efficient cause. *Māyā* herself is insentient (*jaḍa*), hence by itelf she has no creative power, but imbued with the Lord's power, the insentient *māyā* creates the world, that is, all the Brahmāṇḍas.

Intermediate between the *svarūpa-śakti* and the *māyā-śakti,* is the *jīva-śakti.* The *jīva-śakti* is distinct from both, and does not fall under the categories of either *antaraṁgā* or *bahiraṁgā,* and is yet related to both; hence it is called *taṭasthā,* which literally means 'situated on the (sea) shore'. With vision obscured and deluded by the *māyā-śakti,* the *jīva* cannot be connected with the *svarūpa-śakti.* According to Jamātṛ, quoted by Jīva Gosvāmin (*PS.* 19), the substratum of the *jīva* is knowledge (*jñān-āśrayaḥ*), its quality is knowledge (*jñāna-guṇaḥ*), it is sentient (*cetanaḥ*) and beyond *prakṛti* (*prakṛteḥ paraḥ*). And Jīva Gosvāmin adds that, *jīva* is neither insentient (*na jaḍa*) nor is it liable to modification (*na vikārī*).

According to the *Gītā* (XV. 7), *jīva* is a part of the Lord. This has been discussed by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa on *Br.S.* II. iii. 43 (*aṁśo nānā-vyapadeśāt*), where he concludes that *jīva* is a part of Brahman, because it is a part of His *śakti* (*tattvam ca tasya tac=cha ktitvāt siddham*). For this Baladeva has the authority of Jīva Gosvāmin who says in the PS (31) *tatra śakti-rupatven-aiv-aṁśatvaṁ vyañjayati;* that is, it is in the form of *śakti* only that the *jīva* can be considered to be a part of Brahman. However, as Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa has shown, *jīva* cannot be a part of the *svarūpa-śakti;* had it been so, there would have no difference between the *jīva* and Brahman, but their difference is proclaimed in the scriptures, which state that Brahman is the Creator, and the *jīva* the created. Hence it cannot be a part of the *svarūpa-śakti;* the *jīva* cannot be a part of the *māyā-śakti* either, for the *Gītā* (VII. 14) says that *jīva* goes beyond the reaches of *māyā*. Hence it has been concluded that *jīva* or *jivātman* is a part of another *śakti* of Brahman, which is called *jīva-śakti* or *taṭasthā-śakti.*[6]

2

It has been stated above (p. 282) that, '*madhuraṁ, madhuraṁ, madhuraṁ, madhuraṁ*' is the central idea of Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism. In that idealistic structural framework of bliss, Kṛṣṇa is the substratum and Rādhā the embodiment of bliss, and the consummation of the ideal is the identification of the dual conception of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, representing *Śakti* and *Śaktimat* as the ultimate conception of divine bliss in its limitless plentitude.

We have discussed the historicity of Rādhā elsewhere,[7] but that is not necessary for our present purpose. She is not mentioned in the *Bh.P.*, or the *VP*, nor in the *Harivaṁśa*. It is, therefore, not possible, nor indeed is it necessary to establish her identity on an empirical basis. She is the idealized form of an ontological conception, none the less real because she is ethereal. The pious *gosvāmins* of Vṛndāvana have gone into great details in describing her; it is in their language that Rādhā takes a definite form, a human form, and the *līlā* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa adds a human dimension to subtle theological and philosophical discussions. The vivid description of Rādhā and of her union with Kṛṣṇa are related in everyday human terms; but still it is a *līlā*; a sport, but a divine sport, for no ordinary human being can take part in nor perceive it.

Rādhā is Kṛṣṇa's *hlādinī-śakti*, but she is neither a part nor even the representation of the *śakti*; she is the *śakti* herself in its fullest amplitude. Śrī-Kṛṣṇa is the *Pūrṇa-śaktimat*, Rādhā is the *Pūrṇā-śakti*, or as Baladeva Vidyabhusana writes, '*Rādhā-ādyāḥ pūrṇāḥ śaktayaḥ*.[8] In the commentary he writes that by *ādyāḥ* (et cetera) is meant Candrāvalī. But Rādhā is superior to Candrāvalī, her nearest rival, as Rūpa Gosvāmin says in his *Ujjvala-Nīlamaṇi*.[9]

tayor apy-ubhayor-madhye Rādhikā sarvath-ādhikā
mahā-bhāva-svarup=eyaṁ guṇair ati-varīyasī
hlādinī yā mahā-śaktiḥ sarva-śakti-varīyasī
tat sāra-bhāva-rūp-eyaṁ iti tantre pratiṣṭhitā.[9a]

That is, Rādhā is the realization of the principal emotion being the concretized form of the ideal *hlādinī-śakti* (the energy of bliss), indeed its substratum (*sāra*), in whom the cognizable properties or qualities or attributes or accidents of things have been conceived as inhering in or affecting the essential nature underlying the phenomenon of *madhura-rasa*.

The *gopīs* or the milkmaids are Rādhā's *kāya-vyūha*,[10] though they differ from her in form and nature. The delight of *rasa* does neither sparkle nor increase without a sufficient number of partners;

therefore the Vraja-*devīs*, that is *gopīs* are manifested as helpmates in Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*. This *līlā* has been described in human terms. In the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, (*Sambhoga*, I. p. 571) Rūpa Gosvāmin has written:

darśan-āliṁgan-ādīnām ānukūlyān niṣevayą
yunor ullāsam ārohan bhāvaḥ sambhoga iryate

Commenting on this Jīva Gosvāmin has written '*ānukūlyād iti kāmamayaḥ sambhogo vyāvrttaḥ*.'

Here the use of the word '*kāma*', which means 'desire', but is usually, and possibly correctly, rendered as 'sexual desire' needs some explanation. MM. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj has said: Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-*tattva* is really *kāma-tattva*. Śrī-Kṛṣṇa's *vīja* is *kāma-vīja* and Śrī-Kṛṣṇa's *Gāyatrī* is *kāma-gāyatrī*.[11] But this *kāma* is not physical desire. Though essentially the mundane (*prākṛta*) *kāma* and the celestial (*aprākṛta*) *kāma* are of the same nature, the former is impure and the latter is pure, which constitute their basic difference. Just as one cannot reach the level of *bhāva* (pure emotion) or *mahā-bhāva* without ridding oneself of the mundane *kāma*, similarly, it is not possible to attain *mahā-caitanya* (super-consciousness) without freeing the self from the celestial *kāma*. From the action of the mundane *kāma*, the phenomenal world is created; unless this *kāma* is vanquished it is not possible to go beyond the realm of *māyā* and obtain the state of perpetual emotion (*nitya-bhāva*).

'The mystic *līlā* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa is in reality a pleasant variation in the rhythm of the sweet melody of *kāma* (*kāma-kalā-vilāsa*). . . . It should be remembered that, though Śrī-Kṛṣṇa is the *Parama-puruṣa* (ultimate reality), He is unable to visualize *mahā-caitanya*, unless He is united with Rādhā. But the union of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā is not possible till she draws to herself the poignancy of the entire realm of universal emotion, which she has to hold and retain within herself and proceed alone in her adventurous journey of love towards the *Parama-puruṣa*, and at the end dedicate herself at His feet. By dedicating herself, Rādhā takes her eternal place in the essence of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa; and it is only then and not before that Śrī-Kṛṣṇa can be called united with Rādhā or qualified by Rādhā. At other times, Śrī-Kṛṣṇa being bereft of his *śakti* is imperfect (*apūrṇa*), and therefore incapable of conquering (celestial) *kāma*.'[12]

Rādhā-saṁge yadā bhāti tadā Madana-mohanaḥ
anyathā viśva-moho'pi svayaṁ Madana-mohitaḥ
(*Govinda-līlāmṛta*, XIII. 29)

(When Kṛṣṇa is with Rādhā, He attracts the whole world, alone He may still attract the world, but is Himself influenced by Cupid).

In the *rāsa-maṇḍala,* Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are surrounded by the *sakhīs;* with each *sakhī,* there is one Kṛṣṇa, and they begin to dance. When their dance is over, they leave the *rāsa-maṇḍala,* leaving behind Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa and the *nitya-siddhā-sakhīs.*[13] Then Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa begin to dance the *rāsa-līlā;* ultimately even the *nitya-siddhā-sakhīs* also depart from the *rāsa-maṇḍala,* leaving Rādhā alone with Kṛṣṇa to consummate her destiny, which is to be merged with Kṛṣṇa, and the dance of duality ends in ultimate unity.

As Ramananda told Caitanya:

> *sakhi na sa ramaṇo n-āhaṁ ramaṇ-īti bhid-āvayor=āste*
> *prema-rasen-obhaya-mana iva Madano niṣpipeṣa balāt athavā*
>
> *ahaṁ kāntā kāntas tvam iti na tadānīṁ matir abhūn*
> *mano-vṛttir luptā tvam aham iti no dhīr api hatā.*[14]

From this unity of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa emerges the ultimate *rasa: Raso vai saḥ;* He indeed is *rasa.* By Himself, Kṛṣṇa is *advaya-jñāna-tattva,* with Rādhā He is *advaya-rasa-tattva.*

3

Caitanya is worshipped by the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* as a dual incarnation of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. His personal worship as a deity began in his lifetime; probably it was first started by his wife Viṣṇupriyā, and was latter taken up by other followers at Navadvīpa. He was also recognized as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa by the Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins,* usually in the *namaskriyā* verses, but reference is also made in at least two verses of his double incarnation as Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.[15]

The first verse quoted below has been made famous by Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj in the CC, but Ānandin in his commentary on Prabodhānanda's *Caitanya-candrāmṛta*[16] attributes it to Sanātana:

> *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-praṇaya-vikṛtir hlādinī-saktir asmād*
> *ekātmanāv-api bhuvi purā deha-bhedaṁ gatau tau*
> *Caitanyākhyam prakaṭam adhunā tad-dvayam c=aikam āptam*
> *Rādhā-bhāva-dyuti-śabalitaṁ naumi Kṛṣṇa-svarūpam.*[17]

The *Stavāvalī* of Raghunātha-dāsa Gosvāmin also opens with a verse which states that Kṛṣṇa, having once fallen in love with his own beauty reflected in a mirror, and desiring to taste his own sweetness, as it was tasted by Rādhā, was born in Gauḍa in the one indivisible body of fair complexion belonging to Rādhā who was his own (*apara-gauraika-tanubhāk*); in his *saṁkīrtana,* Caitanya has

merely sung with delight his own sweet names (*mudā gāyann uccair nija-madhura-nāmāvalir asau).*

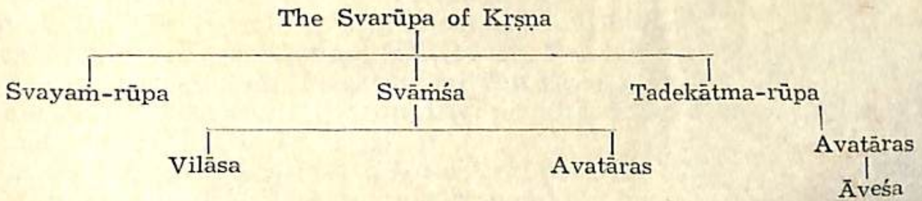
In the *CC*, Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj has quoted the first verse and seems to have developed the idea of the second as follows:

> *Śrī-Rādhāyāḥ praṇaya-mahimā kīdṛśo v=ānayai=vā=*
> *=svādyo yen-ādbhuta-madhurimā kīdṛśo vā madīyaḥ*
> *saukhyam c =āsyā mad anubhavato kīdṛsaṁ v=eti lobhāt*
> *tad bhav-āḍhyaḥ samajani Śacī-garbha-sindhau Har-īnduḥ.*[18]

Thus to the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas,* Caitanya combines in himself the attributes of Kṛṣṇa the *Rasa-rāja* and Rādhā, the *Mahā-bhāva,* the conscious *śaktimat* with the blind love of *śakti.* In Caitanya, the limited visions of the devotees got a glimpse of the infinite mystery of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*.

The love of devotion cannot find its fulfilment so long there is a dichotomy between the *bhakta* (devotee) and Bhagavat. Distinction implies obscuration, which is an impediment to the complete consummation of love. To accomplish this, the object of devotion has to appear as its recipient. In this idealistic scheme, attainment of bliss is the highest goal, which has been idealized and realized in Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. Caitanya the personification of this doctrine combines in himself the extrinsic merits of Rādhā and intrinsic merits of Kṛṣṇa.

1. See appendix to this chapter.
2. According to MM. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj (*Śrī-Kṛṣṇaprasaṁga* (Bengali) p. 28) total suspension of the operation of mental faculties leads to Brahma-*darśana*; absolute concentration of mental faculties leads to *Paramātmā-darśana* and controlled variation of mental faculties leads to Bhagavad-*darśana*. He has compared Brahma-darśana to sleep, Parāmatmā-darśana to dream, and Bhagavad-*darśana* to physical perception.
3. In the *Saṁkṣepa-Bhāgavatāmṛta,* Rūpa Gosvāmin gives a slightly different account of the *avatāras* and the *vyūhas* for which see Dr. S. K. De op. cit. pp. 238-248. Rūpa Gosvāmin's classification is:



See also appendix B. to this chapter.

4. It is difficult to render into English the word *līlā*, which is usually translated as 'sport'. As Kṛṣṇa is both bliss and enjoyer of bliss, all His activities have an aspect of pleasure, and in that sense *līlā* is 'sport' or 'sportive action'; it is also 'labour of love'. *Līlā* is distinct from worldly activities, as no sensual enjoyment is implied. Actually, as MM. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj has said, '*līlā* is the endless sport of the ultimate Self and His energy. (*Śrī-Kṛṣṇa Prasaṁga*, p. 189).
5. As *saccidānanda*, the Bhagavat is existence, knowledge and bliss.

6. The relation between *Jīva* and Brahman has been partly discussed above p. 278.
7. A. K. Majumdar: The development of the Radha Cult, *ABORI*, XXXVI (1955), pp. 230-57.
8. *Br.S.* II. iii. 55 (*Smarati ca*); in the commentary Baladeva explains that by *ādyaḥ* is meant Candrāvalī.
9. *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, Kavyamala Series, 1932 ed. *Rādhā-prakarṇam* p. 73 v. iii and p. 76 vii.

9.a This indicates the existence of *vaiṣnava-tantra*.

10. *CC* I. iv. 68-69. This term is impossible to render into English; if a person can display himself simultaneously in one or more human forms, then those forms are known as the *kāya*-(body) *vyūha* (multitude of) that person.
11. Each deity has his or her particular *vīja* and *gāyatrī*. *Kāma-vīja* is 'klīm', according to the *Gopāla-tāpanī-Upaniṣad* (59) '*klīm-oṁkārasya-aikyatvaṁ paṭhyate Brahmavādibhiḥ* (Brahmavādins read the same significance in '*Klīm*' and '*aum*'). The *kāma-gāyatrī* is: '*Kāmadevāya vidmahe puṣpa-vāṇāya dhīmahi tan no 'naṁgaḥ pracodayāt*'. The *Kāma-gāyatrī* and *Kāma-vīja* were mentioned by Rāmānanda to Caitanya *CC*. II. viii, 109, and by Caitanya to Sanātana, *CC*. II. xxi. 104.
12. *MM*., Dr. G. Kaviraj: *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-prasaṁga*, pp. 150-51.
13. For the various types of *sakhīs* see next chapter.
14. The Vrajabuli verse is given in *CC*. II. viii, 152-58, (*pahilahi rāga* and *nayana-bhaṁga bhela*), and this is possibly the Sanskrit rendering by Kavi-karṇapūra of the Vrajabuli original by Ramānanda (*Caitanya-candrodaya*, VII, p. 165). The sense of the two versions is the same, though the Vrajabuli verse is better. Here Rādhā deserted by Kṛṣṇa remembers her former days of love and tells her friend: '(In a twinkling of an eye we fell in love, which increased till it shattered all bonds). Then Cupid with the (help of) *prema-rasa* (nectar of love) grinded our mind till the idea blossomed in us that he is not a man and I am not a woman; or, (the sense) 'I am the beloved, you are the lover', then vanished from our minds, and even from our intellects the sense of 'thou' and 'I' left.'
15. Dr. S. K. De, op. cit., pp. 421-447; *MC*. pp. 562-64.
16. Dr. S. K. De, op. cit., p. 433.
17. 'Rādhā, the *hlādinī-śakti* of Kṛṣṇa is the final evolution of Kṛṣṇa's sentiment of love; hence though they were originally a single entity, later they appeared in the world in two bodies; but the two have now attained unity, called Caitanya, to whom I bow, (and who is) the essence of Kṛṣṇa diversified by the brightness of the state of Rādhā.'
18. 'What is the nature of Rādhā's glorious love? What is the nature of the love which she finds in me? What is the nature of the bliss she feels in loving me? With this hankering, the moon (that was) Kṛṣṇa was born in Śacī's womb as Caitanya.' *CC*. I. i. 6. The two verses (this and the one noted above as ascribed to Sanātana), have been referred to by Kṛṣṇa dās Kavirāj as written by Dāmodara Svarūpa. For a discussion of this problem see *MC* pp. 317-19.

Appendix A

CHAPTER XXIV

Svayaṁ Bhagavān

'Of all (the incarnations referred to above) some are parts and the others are emanations of the Puruṣa; but Kṛṣṇa is Bhagavān Svayam (Lord Himself). (The afore-mentioned incarnations) save the world from the oppression of the enemies-of-Indra (demons) from age to age.' (*Bh.P.* I. iii. 28). Svayaṁ Bhagavān means God Himself, but in Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇava* terminology, it is used as a technical term, and invariably stands for Kṛṣṇa.

As this verse ends the list of the *avatāras*, it is taken to mean that the various incarnations mentioned in the list (*Bh.P.* I. iii) are the various *aṁśa* (partial) or *kalā* (lit. one sixteenth) of the Puruṣa, but Kṛṣṇa who is enumerated as twentieth in the list is the Bhagavat himself; that is Kṛṣṇa is not an *avatāra* (incarnation) but an *avatārin* (the source of the incarnations) as the substratum of the Paramātmā-Puruṣa.

This conclusion is reached by interpreting this verse in accordance with the following maxim quoted in the *Ekādaśī-tattva* of Raghunandana:

anuvādam anuktvā tu na vidheyam udīrayet
na hy=alabdh-āspadaṁ kiñcit kutracit pratitiṣṭhati.

(A predicate must not be uttered before stating the subject. [Because] a proposition cannot be established unless it is related to its substratum [gramatically 'subject']. Kṛṣṇa who is already known as the twentieth in the list is the *anuvāda* or the already known subject, and Bhagavat is the *vidheya* or predicate mentioned here (*Bh.P.* I. iii. 28) for the first time in reference to Kṛṣṇa. Therefore syntactically it should be construed as *Kṛṣṇas tu Bhagavān Svayam* (but Kṛṣṇa is *Bhagavān Svayam*) and not as *Svayaṁ Bhagavān tu Kṛṣṇa* (*Svayaṁ Bhagavān* is also [that is along with the *avatāras* previously mentioned] Kṛṣṇa). Hence *bhagavatva* (being the Bhagavat) is predicated of Kṛṣṇa and not Kṛṣṇatva (being Kṛṣṇa) of the Bhagavat; that is, Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat and not that the Bhagavat manifested himself as Kṛṣṇa. The word *Svayaṁ* also indicates that Kṛṣṇa is not a mere manifestation of the Bhagavat.

This point has been thoroughly discussed in Jīva Gosvāmin's *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha* and *CC.* II. ii.

But Jīva Gosvāmin has to interpret various other statements in the *Bh.P.* which conflict with this statement. In order to establish that Kṛṣṇa's absoluteness as the Bhagavat is a positive, unambiguous and emphatic *Śruti* which must prevail over all other statements he has treated the statement in *Bh.P.* I. iii. 28 as a *paribhāṣā*, which lays down an authoritative rule or proposition determining the sense of the whole work, and is meant to bring certainty into uncertainty. It is thus a *māhā-vākya*, in the same sense as *tat tvam asi* employed by Śaṁkara.

Appendix B

CHAPTER XXIV

Gauḍīya-vaiṣnavism and Pañcarātra

It is evident that, Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism was not free from the influence of Pañcarātra system, but it is difficult to determine the extent of such influence. The conception of the four *vyūhas* as well as of the twelve emanations from the four *vyūhas* who are described as the presiding deities of twelve month's are taken from Pañcarātra.[1] The classification of *avatāras* is also a characteristic of Pañcarātra texts. Śrī, Bhū, and Līlā are common to Pancarātra and Gauḍīya-vaisnavism, but while the former enumerates only twelve *śaktis*, the latter has sixteen.[2] It is also remarkable that Rūpa Gosvāmin and Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj should have used the typical Pañcarātra simile of 'one flame proceeding from another.'[3] This is not surprising for Rūpa Gosvāmin has quoted from secondary authorities the following Pañcarātra works, namely *Sammohana*, *Sāttvata*, *Śrī-yāmala*, *Bhārgava*, and *Svāyambhuva*, while Jīva Gosvāmin apart from quoting a few verses as Pañcarātra verses, has quoted from the following Pañcarātra texts, namely, *Nārada-Pañcarātra*, *Agastya-saṁhitā*, *Jābāli-saṁhitā*, *Kātyāyana-saṁhitā*, *Garuḍā-saṁhitā*, *Gautamīya-tantra*, *Trailokya-sammohana Tantra*, *Bhāgavat-tantra*, *Svayambhuvāgama*, *Hayaśīrṣa-Pañcarātra etc.*

But though certain non-essential theological concepts have been borrowed from the Pañcarātra system, there is very little in common between the main doctrine of Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism and Pañcarātra.

According to Pañcarātra, Vāsudeva is the *avatārin*, while according to the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas*, Kṛṣṇa is the *avatārin*, and from here the two systems bifurcate. Secondly, the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas*, never took very seriously the conception of emanations, beyond mentioning them. The doctrine of *śaktis* is common to both the systems, but not only the nomenclature, but the implications of *śakti* in the two doctrines have little in common. However, in the *Bhakti-sandarbha*, Jīva Gosvāmin says: *yadyapi Śrī-Bhāgavata-mate Pañcarātrādivad arcanamārgasy=āvaśyakatvam nāsti, tad vin-āpi śaraṇāpatty-ādīnām ekataren=āpi purṣārtha-siddher abhihitatvāt; tathāpi Śrī-Nārad-ādi-vartm-ānusaradbhiḥ Śrī-Bhagavatā saha sambandha-viśeṣaṁ dīkṣā-vidhānena Śrī-guru caraṇa-sampāditaṁ cikīrṣadbhiḥ kṛtāyāṁ dīkṣāyām arcanam avaśyaṁ kriyet=aiva.*[4]

This shows a clear distinction between Bhāgavatism, that is Vaiṣṇavism and the Pañcarātra system.

Jīva Gosvāmin then explains that after *bhūta-śuddhi*, the worshipper should imagine himself as one of the retinues (*pārṣada*) of the deity, instead of mentally identifying himself with the deity, as laid down (in the Pañcarātra texts),[5] which is anathema to the

Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas*, and is known as *ahaṁgrāh-opāsana*.[6] However, though Jīva Gosvāmin, deprecates *ahaṁgrāh-opāsanā*, yet states that such worshippers will attain *sārupya* and *sārṣṭi-mukti*, like worms. which out of incessant fear of a bee, takes the form of a bee (*kīṭa-peśaskṛt nyāya*). It is extremely surprising that *ahaṁgrāh-opāsanā* should be mentioned by Jīva Gosvāmin at all; possibly he does so out of deference to the Pañcarātra system, unless some *tāntrika sahajiyā* system is indicated which is very unlikely.

It may also be noted that, the Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavas never refer to the *Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā*, one of the most authoritative Pañcarātra texts. This is due to the fundamental difference in the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇava* doctrine and this *saṁhitā*. Apart from metaphysical considerations, this *saṁhitā* prescribed that even the disciple must be a *dvija*, while the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* admitted to their fold members of all castes.

According to Kavi-karṇapūra (*Caitanya-candrodaya*, Act, VI, p. 153-55) *Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra*, and the *Kapila-pañcarātra*[7] preached the doctrine of *saviśeṣa*, that is, *saviśeṣa-Brahma-vāda*, by which most probably Viśiṣṭādvaita is meant, for he also mentions that they worship Nārāyaṇa. Though it is difficult to say how far one can rely on these matters on Kavi-karṇapūra, it is possible that the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* regarded the Śrī-*vaiṣṇavas* as followers of the Pañcarātra system. Both Rāmānuja and Madhva were considered authorities by the Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins*, and Rāmānuja's influence seems to be responsible for the tenuous link between the tenets of Pañcarātra and Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism. But, Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism relies heavily on Pañcarātra for its rituals. In the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa quotes copiously from the Pañcarātra texts. But here too, the Pañcarātra influence may have come through Śrī-vaiṣṇavism. For, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa came from the South, and his father Veṁkaṭa Bhaṭṭa was a Śrī-*vaiṣṇava*. It is quite possible, therefore, that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was assigned the task of writing the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, the authoritative *smṛti* text of the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* (described in chapter XXVI) and Sanātana Gosvāmin wrote a commentary on it, because the latter had felt that, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa had direct knowledge of the rituals which he lacked. Actually, Rāmānuja too had accepted not so much the doctrines as the rituals of the Pañcarātra. This seems to have been due to the fact, that the Pañcarātra had developed the ritualistic side of worship from the very beginning and this was their permanent contribution to Indian religious system.

1. Compare *CC*. II. xx. 162-76 with the identical list given by O. Schrader: *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, p. 41. *CC*. II. xx. 176-179 is slightly obscure, but seems to have some relation with the list mentioned by Schrader. op. cit., p. 42. See also *Sarvasaṁvādinī*, pp. 150-52, where Jīva Gosvāmin correlates Pañcarātra with Bhāgavata.
2. *Bṛhat-Bhāgavatāmṛta* of Rūpa Gosvāmin quoted by Dr. S. K. De, op. cit., p. 246; Schrader, op. cit., pp. 53-55.
3. Ibid, p. 35. This is because the Pāñcarātra preaches the doctrine of successive emanations, each, excepting the first, originating from an anterior emanation. *Bṛhat Bhagavatāmṛta*, quoted by Dr. S. K. De, op. cit., p. 244 and

CC. I. ii. 75. Later Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj quotes a verse (*CC*. II. xx. Sanskrit verse No. 46) from the *Brahma-saṁhitā* (V. 46) which supports him.

4. 'According to the Bhāgavata doctrine, a separate procedure for rituals (*arcanā-mārga*) does not seem to be necessary as in the Pāñcarātra system, for, even without rituals, by surrender alone the goal can be reached; still those who follow the path chalked out by Nārada and others, desire to be formally initiated and by the grace of the preceptor establish a relation with the Bhagavat. For such persons initiation and rituals are obligatory.' *Bhakti-sandarbha* (282), ed. by R. G. Goswami and K. G. Goswami, Calcutta, 1962, p. 483.
5. Ibid (285), p. 499.
6. Ibid (215), pp. 361; (285) p. 499.
7. *Kapila-pañcarātra* has not been quoted by or referred to by the Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins*. According to Schrader (op. cit., p. 7, No. 28) this work was mentioned in all the five lists available to him and quoted in post-*saṁhitā* literature.

CHAPTER XXV

BHAKTI

According to the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas*, Caitanya appeared to illuminate the world by shedding the glow of emotional fervour, or *bhakti*. To the traditional four *puruṣārthas*, *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*, he added a fifth, which was *preman* or *bhakti-rasa*. His followers, therefore, have dwelt at great length on these topics, and it is in explaining *preman*, *bhakti*, and *rasa*, that they have made their most outstanding contribution to Indian religious literature. Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism is essentially a system of practical religious emotionalism; therefore their emphasis is not so much on epistemology as on the delineation of various types of religious emotions, their nomenclature and classification. The most important texts on this subject are the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* by Rūpa Gosvāmin, and the *Bhakti-sandarbha* by Jīva Gosvāmin. In the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, Rūpa Gosvāmin gives detailed account of the devotional sentiment in all its aspects, both in its theoretical conception and in practical realization. The *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, is a specialized work in which the *ujjvala-* or *madhura-rasa*, has been etherealized. Jīva Gosvāmin and Viśvanātha Cakravartin have written commentaries on both the works, and the latter has also summarized the two works in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu-bindu* and *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi-kiraṇa*.

In the *Bhakti-sandarbha*, Jīva Gosvāmin has shown that Bhagavat is the only *abhidheya* (subject matter) of the devotee; this *sandarbha* also deals with the general characteristics and the modes and functions of *bhakti*, which will be dealt with in the next chapter.

In the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (I-II. p. 10), Rūpa Gosvāmin has defined *uttamā-bhakṭi* (devotion) as follows:

Any-ābhilāṣitā-śūnyaṁ jñāna-karm-ādy=anāvṛtam
ānukūlyena Kṛṣṇ-ānuśīlanaṁ bhaktir uttamā[1].

In support of this definition, Rūpa Gosvāmin quotes as his authority, a similar verse from the *Nārada-pañcarātra*, and the difference in the two verses indicate that, Rūpa Gosvāmin eliminates all influences of other known and approved methods of salvation, namely, *jñāna-yoga*, *karma-yoga* and *rāja-yoga*. He then states that, the superiority of *bhakti* is that, with its germination in heart as *rati*, the four objects of human pursuit, namely, *dharma* (merit obtained by

performing Vedic and Smṛti rites), *artha* (wealth), *kāma* (gratification of sensual desires), *mokṣa* (liberation from human bondage) appears to be insignificant. But it is difficult to develop an urge for *bhakti*, and even the realization of the Absolute is insignificant compared to the bliss which *bhakti* can bring about. Even a little inclination (*ruci*) for *bhakti* leads to its true understanding, while no amount of argumentation can convey its significance.

Bhakti is of three types, *sādhana-*, *bhāva-* and *prema-bhakti*. *Sādhana-bhakti* is realizable by senses, and not by inward emotion (*bhāva*) which it is meant to awaken; it may be either *vaidhī* or *rāgānugā*. When *sādhana-bhakti* is spontaneous it is called *rāgānugā*, but when it has to be roused by following the procedures laid down in the scriptures, it is called *vaidhī*. The scriptural injunction (*vidhi*) that Kṛṣṇa is to be remembered daily is applicable to all, irrespective of caste, and it is a *nitya-karma*, yet it produces merit.[2] A person who is fortunate enough to be born with faith in his heart, (*jāta-śraddha*) and who is neither too much attached to mundane affairs nor absolutely averse to it, is eligible for *vaidhī-bhakti*. Such persons are of three types, namely, superior, medium, and inferior, depending on their knowledge of the scriptures and the intensity of devotion, but due to the grace of the Lord they rise in the scale of eligibility. But so long as the perverse desire for sensual enjoyment or of liberation (*mukti*) remains, it is impossible for a person to attain *bhakti*. As Kṛṣṇa said in the *Bh.P.* (III. xxix. 13): 'My devotees only hanker after my service, and even if offered, they reject *sālokya-*, *sārṣṭi-*, *sārūpya-* and *sāmīpya-mukti*'.[3]

A *bhakta* does not commit any offence by not performing the Vedic rites, so long as he performs the rites prescribed for *sādhana-bhakti*. But here also, if by chance he is guilty of any transgression, no penance is needed to expiate such acts. The main components of *sādhana-bhakti* are: (1) submission to the preceptor; (2) receiving from him initiation and lessons in *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti;* (3) serving the preceptor zealously; (4) following the conduct of the saints; (5) inquiry as to what is true religion; (6) abstinence; (7) living in a sacred place like Dvārakā or on the Ganges; (8) earning just sufficient to maintain oneself; (9) fasting and observing the Ekādaśī and the Janmāṣṭamī festivals; (10) showing respect to the emblic myrobalans and fig trees; (11) keeping away from those who are averse to the Lord; (12) avoiding having too many disciples or getting entangled in their affairs; (13) not beginning any ambitious project; (14) avoiding (a) writing too many books; (b) practising too many crafts; (c) delivering too many expositions (d) getting involved in too many disputes; (15) giving up faulty behaviour; (16) not being overwhelm-

ed by adverse fortune; (17) avoiding disrespect to other gods; (18) not harassing any one; (19) avoiding *sevāparādha* and *nām-āparạdha* (to be explained later); (20) intolerance of criticism of Kṛṣṇa and his devotees. Out of these twenty components of *sādhana-bhakti*, the first three, relating to the preceptor, are the most important. The other components are: (21) putting on the marks indicative of a *vaiṣṇava;* (22) stamping the letters 'HARI' on the upper limbs of the body; (23) accepting with devotion the flowers, *tulasī* leaves and other objects offered to the deity; (24) dancing vigorously in front of the deity; (25) prostrating like a log of wood before the image of the deity or the *guru;* (26) keep standing before a deity or the *guru;* (27) following the deity (i.e. a religious procession); (28) circumambulating a deity in the temple; (29) going to the temple regularly; (30) worshipping the deity; (31) serving the deity in every possible capacity; (32) singing; (33) performing *saṁkīrtana;* (34) silently chanting His name; (35) to reveal the innermost feelings to the deity; (36) recite devotional verses; (37) eating with relish the food etc. offered to the deity; (38) similarly drinking the water in which the feet of the deity has been washed; (39) smelling the fragrance of the flower, incense etc. offered to the deity; (40) touching the deity; (41) gazing at the deity; (42) witnessing the evening and other services at a temple; (43) listening to the recitation of the name of the Lord; (44) seeking the Lord's grace; (45) remembering the Lord; (46) meditating on the Lord; (47) adopting the attitude of the Lord's servant; (48) adopting the attitude of the Lord's friend; (49) dedication of the self to the Lord; (50) offering to the Lord things which are dear to oneself; (51) directing all actions and endeavours towards performing His work; (52) absolute self-surrender; (53) serving those who are attached to Him such as the *tulasī* plant; (54) following the scriptures; (55) residing (lit. serving) at Mathurā; (56) serving *vaiṣṇavas;* (57) holding congregational festivities to the limit of one's resources; (58) observing a monthly vow particularly in Kārttika; (59) observing special respect for the Janmāṣṭamī; (60) loving the feet of the deity; (61) to enjoy the *Bh.P.* with one who knows how to enjoy it; (62) always to maintain contact with better type of *bhaktas* than oneself; (63) *nāma-saṁkīrtana;* (64) to live in the vicinity of Mathurā.[4]

The *sev-āparādhas* are: (1) going into a temple in a carriage or with shoes on; (2) non-observance of *vaiṣṇava* festivals; (3) not prostrating before the deity; (4) worshipping or praying in an unclean state; (5) doing obeisance with one hand only; (6) loitering or; (7) sitting with streched legs or; (8) sitting with hands clasping raised knees or; (9) lying down or; (10) speaking untruth or; (11) speaking

aloud or; (12) gossiping or; (13) shedding tears for material objects or; (14) quarrelling or; (15) showing favour or; (16) disfavour or; (17) using harsh words or; (18) praising or; (19) blaming others or; (20) using vile language or; (21) furting before the deity; (22) taking meals before offering food to the deity; (23) entering the temple covered with a coarse rug; (24) not worshipping according to one's capacity; (25) eating without offering the food to the Lord; (26) not offering the seasonal fruits to the Lord before eating them; (27) to offer to the Lord the remaining food after eating; (28) to sit with one's back to the deity (29) showing respect or saluting anyone in presence of the deity; (30) maintaining silence before the preceptor; (31) self-glorification; (32) disparagement of other deities.

One is freed from committing any or even all these sins (and 32 more mentioned in the *Varāha-purāṇa*) by absolutely surrendering to the Lord and chanting His Name. There is, however, no getting away with *nām-āparādhas* which are: (1) to speak ill of saintly persons or criticize their conduct; (2) to meditate on Śiva in front of the image of Viṣṇu; (3) to disregard the preceptor; (4) to disregard the scriptures; (5) to think that the eulogies on the Lord's Name found in the scriptures are exaggerations; (6) to twist the meaning of the Lord's Name; (7) to use the Lord's Name blasphemously; (8) to consider the chanting of the Lord's name as an alternate to the performance of some rituals etc; (9) to initiate a disbeliever in the Name of the Lord; (10) to have no taste for the Name of the Lord even after receiving instructions.

The end of *vaidhī-bhakti*,[5] which is also known as *maryādā-bhakti*, may be attained by sincerely performing one aspect of it; for example, Parīkṣit was liberated by listening; Śuka by *kīrtana;* Prahlāda by remembering Him; Lakṣmī by serving at His feet; Pṛthu by worshipping; Akrura by *abhivādanam* (which includes (1) rising from one's seat, (2) clasping the feet, (3) repeating the form of salutation which includes the name of the person addressed followed by the mention of the person's own name; Hanumat by performing service; Arjuna by friendship; Bali by giving up everything he possessed; or it may be *anekāṁga* as by Ambarīṣa, who performed all the prescribed rites as related in the *Bh.P.* IX. iv. 18-20.

The end of *vaidhī-bhakti* is the beginning of *rāgānugā-bhakti* unless some are so fortunate as to be born with an innate propensity and capacity for the latter. *Rāgānugā* presupposes *rāgātmikā* and follows the latter; *rāga* is complete absorption in one's selected deity, and its emotional basis is called *rāgātmikā*. *Rāgātmikā-bhakti* is of

two kinds: one springs from passionate desire to be His beloved (like the *gopīs)*, the other wants to establish with Kṛṣṇa various other types of relations, like His servant, His friend, or His parents. The former is known as *prema-rūpā-* or *kāma-rūpā-bhakti,* and the latter is known as *sambandha-rūpā.* But both these types of *bhakti* are based on *preman.* Those who have become adepts in *rāgātmikā-bhakti,* and develop an insatiable thirst for imbibing the sentiments of Kṛṣṇa's associates at Vraja, are eligible for *rāgānugā-bhakti,* which like the *rāgātmikā* is of two kinds, namely, *kāma-rūpā and sambandha-rūpā.* There is a stage when a person is so much charmed by the beauty and qualities of the people of Vraja, that he develops a devouring inclination to become one of them disregarding the scriptures and rational arguments; at that stage, *rāgānugā-bhakti* can be said to have blossomed in that person. But this is not meant for the *vaidhī-bhaktas,* who must depend on the scriptures and rationality till the emotion is aroused in them. A *rāgānugā-bhakta,* both during his period of *sādhanā* as well as after becoming *siddha,* must consider himself as a servant of the people of Vraja. The elements of *vaidhī-bhakti,* such as singing, listening, and meditation are useful also in the *rāgānugā* stage.

The developing thirst that follows in the wake of *kāmarūpā-bhakti* is called *kāmānugā,* which is of two kinds: in one called *sambhog-ecchāmayī,* the devotee is either a female or one who develops a feminine attitude of celestial amour with Kṛṣṇa; in the other, called *tad-bhav-ecchātmikā,* the desire is for cultivating the emotions of love sentiment. The *rāgānugā-bhakti* is also known as the *puṣṭi-mārga,* or the way of the grace of Kṛṣṇa and his companions.

The *sādhana-bhakti,* which includes both *vaidhī* and *rāgānugā* is *uttamā-bhakti,* of which there are two other types, namely *bhāva-bhakti* and *prema-bhakti. Bhāva-bhakti* is a mature form of *sādhana-bhakti,* but it may also generate independently due to the grace of Kṛṣṇa or His devotees. *Bhāva* or *rati* which is the first step towards *preman,* gradually takes entire hold of a devotee, being of a self-revealing nature; it is both a means towards enjoyment and also an end, being itself enjoyable. Intense practice of *vaidhī-* and *rāgānugā-bhakti* generates *niṣṭhā* (firm devotion) in the heart of a devotee; *niṣṭhā* begets *ruci* (taste) for *bhakti,* which creates *āsakti* (attachment) for Kṛṣṇa, and this causes *rati,* and not *preman,* to appear in the heart. But *rati* also suddenly appears in a devotee due to His grace, which may be verbal (*vācika*), by appearing in person, that is illuminating (*āloka-dāna*) the intellect, or overpowering the feelings, and is called *hārda* (pertaining to the heart). When *bhāva* sprouts in a devotee's heart, he develops forbearance, ensures that not a

moment is spent in vain, becomes unassuming and indifferent to worldly enjoyment, firm in his expectation of receiving His grace, constantly longs for the Lord, ever relishing the chanting of His Name, with growing attachment for his eulogies, and love for His abode. But such signs would not be called *rati*, if manifested in one desirous of *mokṣa* (liberation, i.e. in a monist); such developments in a person not spiritually fit to receive them are merely *ratyābhāsa*, that is a reflection or shadow of *rati;* even so, this is due to good luck, but it fades away gradually.

When the *bhāva* softens the heart, and coagulates to an extent that the devotee can think of Kṛṣṇa as his own, he is said to be possessed of *preman;* which may be the result of *vaidhī-bhakti*, *rāgānugā-bhakti* or the grace of Kṛṣṇa. *Preman* is of two types; in one the devotee is conscious of the majesty and grandeur of Kṛṣṇa, while in the other his love is free from such inhibiting knowledge and is called *kevala-prema*. The development of *preman* takes place in nine distinct stages, one leading to the next: first there is *śraddhā* (faith); then association with saintly persons; (*sādhu-saṁga*);[6] next the devotee begins spiritual practices (*bhajana-kriyā*); this enables him to overcome obstacles (*anartha-nivṛtti*); this generates firmness in application (*niṣṭhā*); then he develops a taste for *bhakti-mārga* (*ruci*); which develops into attachment for it (*āsakti*); then *preman* appears.

In order that the *bhāva* may be relished, other emotional factors known as, *vibhāvas*, *anu-bhāvas*, *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* and *sāttvika-bhāvas* come into play.

The *vibhāvas* (excitants) are of two kinds, namely, the *ālambana* (substantial) and *uddīpana* (stimulating or enhancing).[7] The *ālambana-vibhāva* of Kṛṣṇa-*rati* has two aspects, namely, (1) Kṛṣṇa as the object, (*viṣaya*) and (2) the devotee as the locus (*ādhāra*) of the emotion. The *viṣaya* may be sub-divided according to the particular form of Kṛṣṇa which is meditated upon. The form may vary according to the inclination of the devotee and his selection of the one or more of the sixty-four qualities of Kṛṣṇa as given below.

Of these sixty-four qualities, fifty are physical, five intellectual, five spiritual and the remaining four being special. These are: *suramyāṁga* (possessing fine symmetrical limbs), *sarva-sal-lakṣaṇānvita* (possessed of all the excellent *lakṣaṇas* or characteristics), *rucira* (good-looking), *tejasvin* (powerful and shining) *balīyas* (strong), *vayo'nvita* (youthful), *vividh-ādbhuta-bhāṣāvid* (acquainted with many and strange languages), *satya-vāc* (truthful), *priyaṁvada* (capable of pleasant speech), *vāvadūka* (expert in conversation), *supaṇḍita* (learned and wise), *buddhimat* (intelligent), *pratibhānvita* (possessed of

genius), *vidagdha* (well-versed in the arts), *catura* (ingenious), *dakṣa* (dexterous and quick), *kṛtajña* (grateful), *sudṛḍha-vrata* (resolute), *deśa-kāla-supātra-jña* (possessing a knowledge of fit time, place and object), *śāstra-cakṣus* (acting according to the *śāstra*), *sthira* (steadfast), *śuci* (pure and purifying), *vaśin* (continent), *dānta* (capable of suffering), *kṣamā-śīla* (forgiving), *gambhīra* (profound), *dhṛtimat* (contented and placid), *sama* (equable), *vadānya* (liberal in gift), *dhārmika* (dutiful), *śūra* (brave), *karuṇa* (compassionate), *mānya-māna-kṛt* (respectful), *vinayin* (humble), *dakṣiṇa* (amiable and well-behaved), *hrīmat* (modest), *śaraṇāgata-pālaka* (protector), *sukhin* (happy), *bhakta-suhṛt* (friend of the devotee), *prema-vaśya* (controllable by love), *sarva-śubhaṁkara* (beneficent to all), *pratāpin* (subjugator of enemies), *kīrtimat* (famous) *rakta-loka* (popular), *sādhu-samāśraya* (partial to the good), *nārī-gaṇa-manohārin* (charmer of women), *sarvārādhya* (pre-eminently adorable), *samṛddhimat* (prosperous), *varīyas* (the pre-eminent) and *īśvara* (independent and supreme). The five intellectual qualities are: *sadāsvarūpa-saṁprāpta* (unconditioned), *sarvajña* (omniscient), *nitya-nūtana* (ever new) *sac-cid-ānanda-sāndrāṁga* (having self existent, self-conscious, blissful compact form), *sarva-siddhi-niṣevita* (possessed of all powers and perfection). These qualities he shares also with Śiva and Brahmā; but as Nārāyaṇa his five exclusive spiritual qualities are: *avicintya-mahā-śakti* (possessed of infinite and indescribable powers), *koṭi-brahmāṇḍa-vigraha* (container of infinite worlds), *avatārāvali-bīja* (the seed of incarnations), *hatāri-gati-dāyaka* (giver of salvation to enemies killed), and *ātmārāma janā-karṣin* (attractor of the liberated wise). His four special qualities are: *līlā* (divine sport), *prema-priyādhikya* (abundance of beloved persons obtained by love), *veṇumādhurya* (sweetness of his flute) and *rūpa-mādhurya* (sweetness of his beauty).

As for the devotee (*ādhāra*), he may be in a process of attainment but is a suitable person in whom *rati* has germinated (*sādhaka*), or a *siddha*, (one who has attained). Among the latter there are three types, namely, (1) *nitya-siddha*, that is, those who have attained perpetually, and manifest themselves as the retinue of Kṛṣṇa and the *avatāras*, for example, the cowherds of Vṛndāvana, Lakṣmaṇa etc; (2) *sādhanā-siddha*, those who have attained through conscious effort, that is spiritual exercise; (3) *kṛpā-siddha*, those who have attained through His grace.

The *uddīpana-vibhāvas* of Kṛṣṇa-*rati* are circumscribed by the factors of time, place and circumstances, and depend on His *guṇa* (qualities), his *ceṣṭā* (exploits), His *prasādhana* (toilette and personal adornment) and other miscellaneous factors. His qualities are sub-

divided into *kāyika* (physical) *vācika* (verbal), and *mānasika* (mental) of which the last two have been described above. His physical qualities take into account his age, natural beauty, beauty due to embellishments, and softness. As to age, He may be meditated upon as a child not more than five years old (*kaumāra*), boy up to ten years old (*paugaṇḍa*), adolescent up to the sixteenth year (*kaiśora*), which is further subdivided into commencement, middle and end, and youth (*yauvana*).[8]

Kṛṣṇa's *ceṣṭā* or exploits include *rāsa*, which has been explained in the previous chapter, and killing of demons etc. as described in the Purāṇas. Detailed description of Kṛṣṇa's toilet is given, which include his various types of dresses, *coiffure*, bodily decoration with sandal paste, garlands etc., and His ornaments which include *kirīṭa* (crown), *kuṇḍala*, (ear-rings), *hāra* (necklace), *valaya* (bracelet), *aṁgurī* (ring), *keyūra* (armlet), *nūpura* (anklet) etc.

The miscellaneous factors of *uddīpana-bhāva*, are, for example His smile, the fragrance of His body, His foot prints, His beloved plant the *tulasī*, His favourite musical instrument, the flute etc.

The *anubhāvas* or ensuants awaken and indicate the emotion, namely Kṛṣṇa-*rati* (*anubhāvās tu cittasthabhāvānāṃ avabodhakāḥ*, p. 199).

They are:

Nṛtya (dancing), *viluṭhita* (rolling on the ground), *gīta* (singing), *krośana* (loud crying), *tanu-moṭana* (twisting of the body), *huṁkāra* (shouting), *jṛmbhā* (yawning), *śvāsa-bhūman* (profusion of sighs,) *lokānapekṣitā* (disregard of popular opinion), *lālā-srava* (foaming at the mouth), *aṭṭa-hāsa* (loud laughter), *ghūrṇā* (giddiness) and *hikkā* (hiccough).

The *sāttvika-bhāvas* are the product of *sattva* and are either directly or proximately related to Kṛṣṇa. They are eight in number, namely, (1) *stambha* (stupor) (2) *sveda* (perspiration), (3) *romāñca* (horripilation), (4) *svara-bheda* (choking of voice); (5) *vepathu* (trembling); (6) *vaivarṇya* (paleness of complexion), (7) *aśru* (tears); (8) *pralaya* (loss of consciousness). Each of these *sāttvika-bhāvas* may evolve out of fear, pleasure, wonder, anger, jealousy, enthusiasm etc. and may lead to dumbness, total suspension of movements, and a feeling of emptiness.

The eight *sāttvika-bhāvas* described above are from orthodox classical texts, but, as Rūpa Gosvāmin points out, they are called *sāttvika-bhāvas*, because they are the products of *sattva* (*sāttvika-guṇa*). He further classifies this *bhāvas* as (1) *snigdhā* (soft or

mellow), (2) *digdhā* (anointed or saturated), and (3) *rukṣā* (harsh). Of these the first, *snigdhā,* which is the principal *sāttvika-bhāva,* is subdivided into (1) *mukhyā* which is directly related to Kṛṣṇa and (2) *gauṇā* which is but indirectly related. The *digdhā sāttvika-bhāva* is induced by fear as felt by Yaśodā when she heard of Putanā at night. *Rukṣā sāttvika-bhāva* is produced in persons when they sometimes get excited on hearing the amorous tales about Kṛṣṇa; such persons have no genuine feeling for Kṛṣṇa.

The *sāttvika-bhāvas* are further sub-divided; this time the basis of classification being the number of the *sāttvika-bhāvas* present at a time. Thus the *sāttvika-bhāva* may be (1) *dhūmāyita* (smouldering) when there is only one *sāttvika* (out of eight mentioned above) (2) *jvalita* (flaming) when there are two or three *sāttvikas;* (3) *dīpta* (burning), when there are four or five *sāttvikas,* and (d) *uddīpta* (burning brightly) when six or all the eight *sāttvika-bhāvas* are present. The *uddīpta-bhāva* is also called *mahā-bhāva* and indicates the ultimate state of realization. The *bhāva* may last for a very long time, and may be manifested in many limbs, or again may attain its climax by its own nature. Semblance of *sāttvika-bhāva* may be manifested in persons who are inherently incapable of generating or sustaining it, such as *Mimāṁsakas* (those who expound the *Karma-kāṇḍa* of the Vedas), deceitful or weak-minded people, or those who are hostile to Kṛṣṇa.

Next comes the *vyabhicāri-bhāvas,* which are accessory to the main *bhāva,* and being transitory in character are also known as *sañcāri-bhāvas.* They are like waves on the nectar-like ocean of the *sthāyi-bhāva,* and sometimes increase its tempo, while at others are merged with the latter. The *vyabhicāri-bhāvas,* thirty-three in number[9] are: *nirveda* (self-disparagement), *viṣāda* (despondency), *dainya* (depression), *glāni* (debility), *śrama* (weariness), *mada* (intoxication), *garva* (arrogance), *śaṁkā* (apprehension), *trāsa* (alarm), *āvega* (flurry), *unmāda* (madness), *apasmāra* (dementedness), *vyādhi* (sickness), *moha* (distraction), *mṛti* (death), *ālasya* (indolence), *jāḍya* (stupefaction), *vrīḍā* (shame), *avahittha* (dissembling), *smṛti* (recollection), *vitarka* (doubt), *cintā* (reflection) *mati* (resolve), *dhṛti* (equanimity), *harṣa* (joy), *autsukya* (longing), *ugratā* (sternness), *amarṣa* (impatience of opposition), *asūyā* (envy), *cāpalya* (unsteadiness), *nidrā* (drowsiness), *supti* (dreaming), and *bodha* (awakening).

Besides these thirty-three, there are thirteen other *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* which are included in one or the other *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* mentioned above. These are *mātsarya* (envy), *udvega* (distress); *dambha* (pride), *īrṣyā* (jealousy) *viveka* (discrimination), *nirṇaya*

(determination), *klaibya* (weakness), *kṣamā* (patience), *na kutukam* (complacency), *utkaṇṭhā* (longing), *vinaya* (propriety), *saṁśaya* (doubt), and *dhārṣṭya* (audacity).

The *vyabhicāri*-or *sañcāri-bhāvas* may be *svatantra* (independent) of, or *paratantra* (dependent) on the dominant feeling. The dependence may also be direct, indirect or as subordinate to two different *rasas*. The independent may be *rati-śūnya* (devoid of the main emotion) or *rati-gandhin* (flavoured by the main emotion).

Then there are *prātikūlya* (contrariety) and *anaucitya* (impropriety) of *bhāvas*, as well as *bhāvotpatti* (excitement of *bhāvas*), such as *bhāva-sandhi* (conjunction of two *bhāvas*) *bhāva-śabalatā* (repressing each preceding *bhāva* by the succeeding one), and *bhāva-śānti* (toning down a highly developed *bhāva*).

Now we come to the *sthāyi-bhāva* or the root-emotion of the *vaiṣṇava bhakti-rasa*, which is defined as the emotion based on Kṛṣṇa (*Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-viṣayā ratiḥ*). The *sthāyi-bhāva* may be *mukhya* (primary) or *gauṇa* (secondary) as it is directly or indirectly related to Kṛṇṣa. The *mukhya-sthāyins* may be *svārtha*; or *parārtha*; the former strengthens itself by consistent feelings and is weakened by inconsistent feelings, while the latter contains both consistent and inconsistent feelings and is characterized by the nature of its recipients.

The *mukhya-sthāyin* (both *svārtha* and *parārtha*) may be of the following types, (1) *śuddha*, (2) *prīti*, (3) *sakhya* (4) *vātsalya* and (5) *priyatā*.

Of these, *śuddha* (pure) may be (a) *sāmānya* (common, that is, found in people generally or in girls, (b) *svaccha* (transparent, reflecting like a crystal, the character and efforts of different *sādhakhas*), and (c) *śānta* (placid).

Prīti (grace), *sakhya* (friendship) and *vātsalya* may be (a) *kevala* (unmixed by mutual contact or feeling) and (b) *saṁkula* (mixed by such contact).

Priyatā (no. 5 above) is *madhura-rati* and will be considered in detail later.

The *gauṇa-sthāyin* of Kṛṣṇa-*rati* are (1) *hāsa* (mirth), (2) *utsāha* (energy), (3) *śoka* (sorrow), (4) *krodha* (anger), *bhaya* (fear), (6) *vismaya* (wonder) and (7) *jugupsā* (disgust, which cannot have Kṛṣṇa as its *ālambana*). As an example of *jugupsā*, Rūpa Gosvāmin quotes a verse in which a man states that, since his mind became eager to linger on the lotus-like feet of Kṛṣṇa, the abode of all the *rasas*, any sexual idea induces in him disgust and nausea (pp. 295-96).

There may be six different expressions of *hāsa-rati* in an increasing order of merriment, namely, *smita, hasita, vihasita, avahasita, upahasita, atihasita. Utsāha* or energy may be displayed in *dāna* (liberal gifts), in *yuddha* (battle), in *dayā* (kindness), and in observance of *dharma* (duty), while *vismaya* can be *dṛṣṭa* (seen) *śruta* (heard), *saṁkīrtita* (proclaimed), and *anumita* (inferred).

At the end of the chapter (*Dakṣiṇa*), Rūpa Gosvāmin repeats the names of the *bhakti-rasas* with their representative colours and the names of the presiding deities. These are, for the *mukhya-bhakti-rasas:* (1) *śānta* (quietism), white (*sveta*), Kapila; (2) *prīta* (contentment), variegated colour (*citra*), Mādhava; (3) *preyas* (agreeable friendship), red (*aruṇa*), Upendra; (4) *vātsalya* (parent sentiment), crimson (*śoṇa*), Nṛsiṁha; (5) *madhura* (amatory sentiment), dark (*śyāma*), Kṛṣṇa.

The *gauṇa-bhakti-rasas* are seven in number; these too have their representative colour and presiding deities and are as follows (1) *hāsya* (comic), off-white (*pāṇḍura*), Balarāma; (2) *adbhuta* (marvellous), brown (*piṁgala*), Kūrma; (3) *vīra* (heroic), fair (*gaura*), Kalkin; (4) *karuṇa* (pathetic), dirty grey (*dhūmra*), Rāghava; (5) *raudra* (furious) blood red (*rakta*), Bhārgava; (6) *bhayānaka* (terrible), black (*kāla*), Kiri (Varāha); (7) *bibhatsa* (abhorrent), blue (*nīla*), Buddha.

Rūpa Gosvāmin then takes up the consideration of the five *mukhya-bhakti-rasas*, which have been enumerated above. These five are the most important in *vaiṣṇava rasa-śāstra*, and Rūpa Gosvāmin has described in some detail their respective *vibhāvas, anubhāvas, sāttvikas, vyabhicāri-bhāvas,* and *sthāyi-bhāvas*, and their characteristics, as usual with illustrations from scriptures. These are as follows:

I. *Śānta-rasa* (quietism)

This is meant for the yogins, and usually leads to self-realization (*sva-sukha-jātīya*), but this lacks in depth (*aghanaṁgham*), but *īśamayaṁ-sukham* (which implies the realization of some form) is superior, and the quietistic devotees realize the latter.

Its *vibhāvas* are: (1) *ālambana*, four armed Nārāyaṇa, and two kinds of quietistic devotees, namely *ātmārāmas* (self-contented and self-satisfied saints like Sanaka, Sanandana etc.), and *tāpasas* (ascetics); (2) *uddīpana*—listening to the Upaniṣads, residing in a lonely place, development of intellectual faculties, discussion of *tattvas*, keeping the company of *jñānī-bhaktas* and participating in *Brahma-satra* etc.

The *anubhāvas* are: living like an *avadhūta*[10] concentrating on the tip of the nose, walking with downcast eyes, displaying the *jñāna-mudrā* (to touch the ring finger with the fore finger), neither to hate the enemies of Kṛṣṇa, nor to be too respectful to His devotees, attach great importance to *siddhatā* and the state of *jivan-mukta,* not to depend on anyone, not to have 'my-ness', ego, and to maintain silence.

The *sāttvikas* are, horripilation, perspiration, trembling but not fainting (*pralayaṁ vinā*).

The *vyabhicāris* or *sañcāris* are, self-disparagement, equanimity, joy, resolve, recollection, sorrow, longing, flurry, disputation.

Its *sthāyins* are, *sama* (equality) and *sāndra* (compactness).

There may be two types of *śānta-rasa,* one leading to mediate and the other to immediate vision (*sākṣātkāra*).[11]

In *śānta-rasa,* there is neither happiness, nor misery, neither envy not jealousy: all men appear equal.[12]

II. *Prīti-bhakti-rasa.*

According to Śrīdhara Svāmin, this is the best of all the *rasas,* and Sudeva, the author of the *Nāmkaumudī* has called this *rasa* the foundation of *rati.* The *prīti* may be of two kinds, namely, *sambhrama-prīti* (respectful devotion) and *gaurava-prīti* (devotional pride).

(i) *Sambhrama-prīti*

Its *vibhāvas* are: (1) *ālambana*: Kṛṣṇa and his servants. Though Kṛṣṇa has two hands, to the followers of this *rasa* He sometimes appears in four-handed form. The servants of Kṛṣṇa may be *adhikṛta* (controlled, like, Śiva, Brahmā, Indra etc.), *āśrita* (protected) *pārṣada* (retinue, like Uddhava, Dāruka etc.) and *anuga* (followers in Vraja or Dvārakā). (2) *uddīpana:* receiving Kṛṣṇa's favour in the shape of dust of His feet, remnants of His or His devotees food etc.

Its *anubhāvas* are, complete application of self (to appointed duties), freedom from jealousy etc.

Its *sāttvikas* are, all the *sāttvikas* enumerated above.

Its *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* are the following: *harṣa, garva, dhṛti, nirveda, viṣannatā, dainya, cintā, smṛti, śaṁkā, mati, autsukya. cāpalya, vitarka, āvega, hrī, jāḍya, moha, unmāda, avahittha, bodha, svapna, klama, vyādhi,* and *mṛti.*

This *rasa* leads to *yoga* (contact with Kṛṣṇa), *siddhi* (to receive him after long and eager expectation), and *tuṣṭi* (to obtain him

again after his disappearance). Its *sthāyi-bhāva* is the adoption of an attitude of Kṛṣṇa's servant.

(ii) *Gaurava-prīti.*

Its *sthāyi-bhāva* is, pride due to a feeling that the devotee is a favoured dependent of Kṛṣṇa.

Its *vibhāvas* are, (1) *ālambana*: Kṛṣṇa's various qualities such as, His being a great preceptor and protector, His having great renown, intelligence, and strength felt by His juniors such as younger brothers and sisters, Sāraṇa, Gada, Subhadrā, or sons like Pradyumna etc. (2) *uddīpana: vātsalya* (Kṛṣṇa's parental affection), smile etc.

Its *anubhāvas* are: sitting on a low seat before Kṛṣṇa, following the steps of the preceptor, and to carry his effects, and to give up arbitrary disposition: *sāttvikas* are all the *sāttvika-bhāvas; vyabhicāri-bhāvas* are those mentioned under *sambhrama-prīti.* Special *gaurava-prīti* may generate *preman* (love), *sneha* (affection), and *rāga* (attachment), under special circumstances.

III. *Preyo-bhakti-rasa.*

The *sthāyi-bhāva* is an attitude of friendship.

Its *vibhāvas* are: (1) *ālambana:* Kṛṣṇa and his friends of the same age either in Vraja (Śrīdāman etc.) or in Dvārakā (Arjuna etc.). The friends are classified as *suhṛt* (slightly older)), *sakhi* (slightly younger), *priya-sakhi* (same age), *priya-narma-sakhi* (helpers in *affaires de coeur*); (2) *uddipana:* (i) age, namely, *kaumāra* (1-5), *paugaṇḍa* (5-10), *kaiśora* (10-15); (ii) place: up to the age of ten in Vraja and thereafter either in Vraja or Mathurā or Dvārakā; (iii) various kinds of dress suitable to the age.

Anubhāvas are various types of sports.

Sāttvikas are *stambha* etc. as are suitable.

The *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* are: all excepting *ugratā, trāsa* and *ālasya.*

The *preyo-bhakti-rasa* may develop successively into *praṇaya, preman, sneha,* and *rāga.*

IV. *Vatsala-bhakti-rasa:*

Its *sthāyi-bhāva* is *vātsalya,* that is, parental affection.

Its *vibhāvas* are: (1) *ālambana*: Kṣṛṇa and His elders, such as Nanda, Yaśodā, Rohiṇī, Devakī and her co-wives, Kuntī, Ānakadundubhi (Vasudeva), Sandīpani etc; (2) *uddīpana:* Kṣṛṇa's young age

(kaumarādi vayaḥ), His handsome appearance, childish pranks, smiles etc.

Its *anubhāvas* are: smelling the head *(śiroghrāṇam)*, feeling the body with the hands, blessing, giving directions, bringing up (a child or boy), and giving him good advice.

The *sāttvikas* are: all the eight *sāttvikas* and flowing of milk from the breasts (sign of motherly affection); hence the total number of *sāttvikas* in this *rasa* is nine. *Vyabhicāri-bhāvas* are: all mentioned in the *Prīti* (above no. II) and *apasmāra* (dementedness).

It may appear like *preman, sneha* or *rāga* (*premavat, snehavat* or *rāgavat*).

V. *Madhura-bhakti-rasa:*

The *madhura-bhakti-rasa*, or *madhura-rasa*, has been described briefly in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, because Rūpa Gosvāmin has described in detail in his *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, the *ujjvala*, or *madhura-rasa*, that is, transendental amatory love of Rādhā and Kṣṛṇa, which is known as *bhakti-rasa-rāja*. The following description is based on the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*.[13]

The *sthāyī-bhāva* or the dominant emotion of the *madhura-rasa* is the *priyatā* or *madhura-rati* which inspires mutual attraction and desire.

The *vibhāvas* are: (1) *ālambana*: Kṛṣṇa and His beloved, the *gopīs*; He has many qualities (included in the list given above (pp. 304-5) and may appear as any one of the four types of hero namely, *dhirodātta* etc. and may figure either as husband or an *amant* (*patiś=c=opapatiś=c=eti prabhedāv=iha viśrutau*, p.9 v.9). He is husband of the ladies of Mathurā and Dvārakā, and *amant* of the Vraja-*gopīs*, whose passion has overcome their sense of conventional duty, and this establishes the superiority of *śṛṁgāra-rasa* among all the *rasas* (*atr=aiva param-otkarṣaḥ śṛṁgārasya pratiṣṭhitaḥ*, p. 14). The idea of an *amant* or paramour has been forbidden in some texts, hence Rūpa Gosvāmin cites Bharata, as his authority for stating that such prohibition is meant for mundane lovers. It was due to Divine Will that Kṛṣṇa descended to purify the world; that same Will must have ordained that He would play the part of an *amant*. As Jīva Gosvāmin in his commentary says: *atra bhārāvatāraṇaṁ devādīnām icchayā tad idaṁ tu aupapatyaṁ tu tasya svecchay-eti hi gamyate* (p. 21).

In His love affairs, Kṛṣṇa is helped by five types of friends, namely, (1) *ceṭa* (a servant, clever in making inquiries and trustworthy in secret affairs, such as, Bhaṁgura, Bhṛṁgāra, etc. in Vraja); (2)

viṭa (skilled in matters of dress, entertaining, and wise in the affairs of women, such as Kaḍāra, Bhāratī-bandhu etc.) (3) *Vidūsaka* (buffoon, greedy, quarrelsome, such as Madhumaṁgala in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdha-Mādhava)*; (4) *piṭha-marda* (a true companion such as, Śrīdāman); (5) *priya-narma-sakhi* (dear and intimate friends, such as Subala and Arjuna). There are also messengers or *dūtīs*, namely, *svayam-dūtīs*, and *āpta-dūtīs* (pp. 155-88). Among the beloved of Kṛṣṇa there are *svakīyās* and *parakīyās*, that is married to Him or to others. Kṛṣṇa has sixteen thousand wives at Mathurā and eighteen hundred at Dvārakā. Though they are equal in beauty and qualities, still eight of them are foremost among them. Among the queens, the chief are Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, Jāmbavatī, Arkanandinī, Śaibyā, Bhadrā, Kauśalyā and Mādrī; of these eight again, Rukmiṇī is foremost in majesty, while Satyabhāmā is most favoured by fortune.

Parakīyā has been defined as:

rāgeṇ=aiv=ārpit-ātmano loka-yugm-ānapekṣiṇā
dharmeṇ-āsvīkṛtā yās tu parakīyā bhavanti sā (p. 52, v. 16).

That is, when there is mutual surrender due to passion, and the union is not sanctified by marriage, the lady is called *parakīyā*. *Parakīyā* may be of two kinds, namely, *kanyakā* (maiden) and *paroḍhā* (married woman), but these married women, that is Vraja-*gopīs* never had any physical relation with their husbands (*na jātu Vraja-devīnāṁ patibhiḥ saha saṁgamaḥ*, p. 58, v. 31).

The beloveds of Kṛṣṇa, or Hari-*vallabhās*, are classified into three groups, namely (1) *sādhana-parā*, (2) *nitya-siddhā*, and (3) *devī*. Of these *sādhana-parās* or *sādhana-siddhās* are those who have attained the present state of realization (that is, elevation as Kṛṣṇa's beloved) through spiritual exercises; such *vallabhās* may be *yauthikī*, that is of a group (under a *yūtheśvarī*), or *ayauthikī*, not belonging to any group. Among the *yauthikīs* are the *munis*, and the Upaniṣads, the former having become *gopīs*, according to the *Padma-purāṇa*, while other *Purāṇas* state that the Upaniṣads had become *gopīs*. *Ayauthikīs* are further classified as *prācīnā* (old) and *navyā* (young). *Nitya-siddhās* are those who have attained the status of Kṛṣṇa's beloved for ever, and of whom the chief are Rādhā and Candrāvalī, others are, Viśākhā, Lalitā, Śyāmā, Padmā, Śaibyā, Bhadrikā, Tārā, Vicitrā, Gopālī, Dhaniṣṭhā, and Pālikā, etc. There are hundreds of such *nitya-sidhyās*, who are all leaders of a *yutha* (*yūthādhipā*). Of them, eight are foremost, and among them Rādhā and Candrāvalī are at the top. But between Rādhā and Candrāvalī, Rādhā is superior, as has been stated above (p. 290). As

stated below (pp. 319-20) Rādhā is the embodiment of *mahā-bhāva* and *hlādinī-śakti*. Her qualities, like those of Kṛṣṇa, are infinite; however, her twenty-five principal qualities are: *madhura* (beautiful, sweet), *nava-vayāḥ* (young), *calāpāṁga* (roving eyes), *ujjvala-smitā* (smiling brightly), *cāru-saubhāgya-rekhāḍhyā* (with auspicious signs on her palm and the sole of her feet), *gandh-onmādita-Mādhavā* (her perfumes makes Kṛṣṇa almost crazy); *saṁgīta-prasarāvijñā* (very skilful in music), *ramya-vāc* (pleasant in conversation), *narma-paṇḍitā* (skilful in games), *vinītā* (modest) *karuṇā-pūrṇā* (soft hearted), *vidagdhā* (sophisticated), *pāṭavānvitā* (skilled in all affairs), *lajjā-śīlā* (decent), *su-maryādā (*respectful), *dhairya-śālinī* (patient) *gāmbhīryaśālinī* (profound), *su-vilāsā* (expert at expressing herself), *mahābhāva-paramotkarṣa-tarṣiṇī* (unsatiable thirst for Kṛṣṇa due to her being the personification of *mahā-bhāva*), *gokula-prema-vasati* (loved by all in Gokula), *jagac-chreṇīlasad-yaśāḥ* (her renown fills the world), *gurv-arpita-guru-snehā* (dear to her elders), *sakhī-praṇayit-āvaśā* (overpowered by the love of her friends), *Kṛṣṇa-priyā-valī-mukhyā* (chief among the beloveds of Kṛṣṇa) and *santat-āśrava-Keśavā* (she is habitually obeyed by Kṛṣṇa).

Rādhā has five types of friends, namely, *sakhī*, *nitya-sakhī*, *prāṇa-sakhī*, *priya-sakhī* and *parama-preṣṭha-sakhī*. The difference between *sakhī* and *nitya-sakhī* is that while the former's partiality is for Kṛṣṇa, the latter's is for Rādhā; the chief of the *nitya-sakhīs* are known as *prāṇa-sakhīs*. The *priya-sakhī* is not defined, but the chief among them are the eight *parama-preṣtha-sakhīs* namely, Lalitā, Viśākhā, Sacitrā, Caṁpakalatā, Tuṁgavidyā, Indulekhā, Raṁgadevī, and Sudevī.

Here Rūpa Gosvāmin explains that, orthodox poetics condemn *paroḍhā-nāyikā*, but such texts are meant to describe ordinary heroines.

Both among the *svakīyā* and *paroḍhā* three types are found, namely, *mugdhā* (guileless) *madhyā*, (artful but not fully developed); *pragalbhā* (mature, in full bloom of youth, passionate and temperamental). *Madhyā* and *pragalbhā* are further classified into *dhīrā* (self-possessed) *adhīrā* (not self-possessed) and *dhīrādhīrā* (partially self-possessed).

The beloved ladies of Vraja are further classified into eight groups based on the situation of their present state of relation with *Kṛṣṇa*. These are:

(1) *Abhisārikā:* she goes out to meet Kṛṣṇa either induced by Him or compelled by her innate passion. She may go either in a

dark or moonlit sight, appropriately dressed, accompanied by one friend.

(2) *Vāsaka-sajjā:* she adorns herself in expectation of a visit from Kṛṣṇa, and waits in the *kuñja* (grove) or in her house which is also appropriately decorated.

(3) *Utkaṇṭhitā:* she is disappointed because Kṛṣṇa does not arrive; but this absence is not due to any wickedness on His part; at least she does not suspect Him.

(4) *Khaṇḍitā:* she has been sitting up for Kṛṣṇa for the whole night; at last in the early hours of the morning He arrives, with marks of pleasure on His body; she is bitterly angry, sighs deeply and remains silent.

(5) *Vipralabdhā:* She made an assignation, but Kṛṣṇa did not turn up; she is under the impression that Kṛṣṇa has deceived her; hence she disparages herself, then is immersed in thought, then she expresses her sorrow as tears flow from her eyes and she breathes heavily.[14]

(6) *Kalah-āntaritā:* She has separated herself from Kṛṣṇa out of anger, and now she falls at the feet of her *sakhīs* (to effect an honourable reconciliation); she speaks as if in a delirium, reproaches, and shows debility.

(7) *Proṣita-bhartṛkā:* She pines for Kṛṣṇa who has gone away from Vraja; she now sings songs about Him and is in low-spirits.

(8) *Svādhīna-bhartṛkā:* She has Kṛṣṇa completely under her control; she enjoys with Him water sports; she roams with Him in the forest and together they collect flowers.

Heroines of each type mentioned above, may be again ranked according to the affection with which Kṛṣṇa regards them; thus they may be *uttamā* (best), *madhyamā* (medium) and *kaniṣṭhā* (inferior or junior). Just as Kṛṣṇa can appear as any type of hero, similarly Rādhā has in her all the states of heroine, (p. 146. v. 102).

According to their luck in love, the *yūtheśvarīs* are called *adhikā* (excessive), *samā* (even), and *laghvī* (slender). According to their *nature*, they are termed *prakharā* (sharp), *madhyā* (equable) *mṛdvī* (mild). But Rādhā is *asamordhā*, there is none above her, nor is any equal to her, in Vraja (pp. 148. v.5).

The beloved ladies of Kṛṣṇa are also classified according to their attitude to their rivals. Thus they may be, (1) *sva-paksā* (interested in herself who has been described above); (2) *suhṛt-pakṣā* (interested in her friend, does good to her friend or prevents evil befalling her);

(3) *taṭasthā* (indifferent), (4) *vipakṣā* (hostile, harms her rivals and prevents good).

The *uddīpana-vibhāvas* of *madhura-rasa* are the various qualities of Kṛṣṇa and his beloved ladies, which are described in great detail. For example beauty is thus defined:

aṁgāny=abhūṣitāny=eva kenacid bhūṣaṇ=ādinā
yena bhūṣitavad bhāti tad rūpam iti kathyate.[15]

(p. 272, v. 23)

That part of beauty, which is indescribable is called *mādhurya* of the body: *rūpam kim apy=anirvācyaṁ tanor mādhuryam ucyate.* (p. 275).

In *madhura-rasa,* the *uddīpana-vibhāva* besides those mentioned above includes the surroundings, called *taṭasthā* (peripheral). These are dark clouds, lightning, the seasons of spring and autumn, full-moon, fragrant breeze, birds et cetera.

The *anubhāvas* of *madhura-rasa* are, (1) *alaṁkāras,* (2) *udbhāsvaras* and (3) *vācikas.*

(1) The *alaṁkāras,* twenty in number, are as follows: the first three are physical, (*aṁgaja*), namely, (i) *bhāva* (appearance), (ii) *hāva,* (collection of ten coquettish gestures beginning with *līlā;* here it means gestures indicative of emotions); (iii) *helā* (amatory signals); next are seven inherent qualities, called *ayatnaja,* namely, (iv) *śobhā* (lustre) (v) *kānti* (beauty), (vi) *dīpti* (brilliance) (vii) *mādhurya* (grace); (viii) *pragalbhatā* (skill); (ix) *audārya* (good manners); (x) *dhairya* (patience). The next *alaṁkāras* are called *svabhāvaja,* that is natural; they are (xi) *līlā* (imitating the beloved in dress etc.); (xii) *vilāsa* (diversion); (xiii) *vicchitti* (decoration) (xiv) *vibhrama* (restlessness); (xv) *kilikiñcita* (combination of pride, desire, crying, smile, jealousy, fear and anger resulting from rapturous exultation); (xvi) *moṭṭāyita* (frank expression of desire); (xvii) *kuṭṭamita* (external expression of anger as if hurt, out of modesty when kissed etc.); (xviii) *vivvoka* (to neglect the dear one out of wounded pride); (xix) *lalita* (pleasant movement of limbs, eyebrows etc.) (xx) *vikṛta* (not to express desire out of modesty pride etc.). Two more *alaṁkāras* are (xxi) *maugdha* (when with Kṛṣṇa, to behave as if ignorant) (xxii) *cakita* (when with Kṛṣṇa to be frightened without any reason).

The *udbhāsvaras,* which indicate physical expressions of amour, are seven in number. They are: *nīvi-uttarīya-dhammilla-sraṁsanaṁ,* loosening the (i) lower garment, (ii) dropping the upper garment, (iii) disarranging the braid; (iv) *gātra-moṭanam* (twisting the body);

(v) *jṛmbhā* (yawning); (vi) *ghrāṇa-phullatvam* (deep inhalation of fragrance); (vii) *niśvāsa* (deep breathing).

The *vācikas* (conversation), twelve in number, are: (i) *ālāpa* (agreeable and flattering talk); (ii) *vilāpa* (lamentation); (iii) *saṁlāpa* (dialogue); (iv) *pralāpa* (vain or meaningless talk); (v) *anulāpa* (repetition); (vi) *apalāpa* (evasive talk turning the meaning of the spoken word); (vii) *sandeśa* (message); (viii) *atideśa* (taking another's word as one's own; (ix) *apadeśa* (hinting); (x) *upadeśa* (instruction); (xi) *nirdeśa* (pointed reference); (xii) *vyapadeśa* (artful expression of one's desire).

The *sāttvikas* are the usual eight as mentioned above (p. 306), but here the psychological causes of such physiological changes are described. For example the cause of *stambha* (stupefaction) are given as *harṣa* (merriment), *bhaya* (fear), *āścarya* (wonder; surprise); *viṣāda* (sorrow) and *amarṣa* (impatience or indignation). As previously, the *sāttvikas* are classified as *dhūmāyita* (smouldering), *jvalita* (flaming), *dīpta* (burning), and *uddīpta* (burning brightly).

As for the *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* also, all of them mentioned above (p. 307) have been included, except *ugratā* (sterness) and *ālasya* (indolence). But the extra element in this *vyabhicāri-bhāva* are the four *daśās* (conditions), namely, *utpatti* (commencement), *sandhi* (confluence of opposite emotions), *śabalatā* (mixture of opposite emotions) and *śānti* (alleviation).

Next comes the *sthāyi-bhava,* which in *śṛṅgāra-rasa* is known as *madhurā-rati.* The basic formulation of this *rati* depends upon the following:

(1) *abhiyoga*: manifestation of the feeling (*bhāva-vyakti*) personally or through an intermediary; (2) *viṣaya*: five sense objects, namely, *śabda* (sound), *sparśa* (touch), *rūpa* (form), *rasa* (essence), and *gandha* (smell); (3) *sambandha*: pride in beauty, family etc.; (4) *abhimāna:* hankering after a particular object; (5) *upamā*: resemblance however slight; (6) *svabhāva*: subjective temperament depending on the oretic processes of cognative impression (*nisarga*) and impressions created by confirmed habits (*saṁskāra*) and involuntary reflexes (*svarūpa*).

In the *madhurā-rati* the beloved ladies are grouped into three types: (1) *sādhāraṇī,* (2) *samañjasā*, and (3) *samarthā*; they are compared to the increasing excellences of *maṇi* (jewel), *cintā-maṇi* (the wishing jewel) and the *kaustubha-maṇi* (the jewel habitually worn by Kṛṣṇa on his breast).

(1) *Sādhāraṇī-nāyikā* is like Kubjā, who was concerned exclusively with her gratification, but which could be through Kṛṣṇa alone.

(2) *Samañjasā-nāyikās* are Kṛṣṇa's queens, who desired mutual gratification; their love for Kṛṣṇa was more deep-rooted (*sāndra*) than that of a *sādhāraṇī*.

(3) *Samarthā-nāyikās* were the gopīs, who were concerned only with Kṛṣṇa's happiness, and had no sense of self gratification, because they had completely identified themselves with Kṛṣṇa; their love was most deep-rooted (*sāndra-tama*). This *samarthā-rati* ultimately ripens into *mahā-bhāva,* which will be explained presently.

The *madhura-rati* has various stages of developments, according to the degree of its intensity. They are (1) *preman,* (2) *sneha;* (3) *māna,* (4) *praṇaya,* (5) *rāga,* (6) *anurāga,* (7) *bhāva* and (8) *mahā-bhāva.* These have been compared with the developing sweetness of (1) seed (2) sugar-cane; (3) sugar-cane juice, (4) molasses (*guḍa*), (5) *khaṇḍa* (probably *khāndasāri*) (6) sugar, (7) *sītā* (sugar-candy), and (8) *sitopalā* (refined candy), each succeeding one, while containing in it the basic elements of the sweetness of the previous one is sweeter and purer than the previous one. The generic term for these inter-related emotions is also *preman.* However, they have to be considered individually, as this topic is probably the most important among *bhakti-rasa.*

(1) *Preman* is the indissoluble bond of feeling that binds a couple through all adverse circumstances. It developes in three stages, namely *manda* (slight), *madhya* (medium), and *prauḍha* (mature).

(2) *Sneha* is the end product of *preman* when the heart melts in love. Here again there are three types of *nāyikās,* of which the *kaniṣṭhā* (junior) is satisfied with hearing of Him; the *madhyamā* (the middle group) is satisfied by looking at Him; and (3) the *śreṣṭhā* (the foremost), whom only physical contact may satisfy. *Sneha* itself is of two types; one, *ghṛta-sneha,* like *ghṛta,* a basic material, is respectful (*ādara-maya*), but having no intrinsic sensation cannot cause excitement; the second type called *madhu-sneha,* whose all pervading capacity of excitement is self-evident as the sweetness of honey (*madhu*).

(3) *Māna* is the highest manifestation of *sneha,* which can contain in itself even the lack of generous response to Kṛṣṇa. It may be the development of either *ghṛta-sneha* or *madhu-sneha,* and is known as *udātta* or *lalita* respectively.

(4) *Praṇaya* is the product of *māna,* when the latter gives way to unreserved confidence in Kṛṣṇa's love, and is of two kinds, namely, *maitra* (friendship qualified by humility) and *sakhya* (unalloyed

camaraderie). *Sakhya* and *maitra* may become *su-maitra* and *su-sakhya*, that is excellent, when acted upon by *udātta*-and *lalita-māna*.

(5) *Rāga* is the final development of *praṇaya* when to be happy is to be aware of the acute pangs of love. The stages of *rāga* are represented by visual colour symbols, namely *nīlima* (blue) and *raktima* (blood-red). *Nīlima*, again, may be deep blue (*nīlī*) or of softer shade (*śyāma*) difficult to produce. The *raktima* may be like saffron (*kusumbha*), which is permanent, but spreads quickly and reflects other *rāgas*, or it may be like the colour produced by madder (*mañjiṣṭhā*), all pervasive, independent, and of increasing glamour. The *nīlī-rāga* is representative of Kṛṣṇa and Candrāvalī, while the *mañjiṣṭhā-rāga* represents Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

(6) *Anu-rāga* is the stage of love when it attracts to itself a sensation of unceasing novelty, a constant feeling of something not known before. Its manifestations are mutual self-surrender, (*paraspara-vaśī-bhāva*), foreboding of separation (*prema-vaicittya*), desire for being born as an inanimate object dear to Kṛṣṇa (*aprāṇi-janma*) and day-dreaming of Kṛṣṇa during separation (*vipralambhavisphūrti*).

(7) & (8) *Bhāva* is *anu-rāga sui juris*, a substantive state (*sva-svaṁvedya-daśā*); when it ceases to need a substratum for itself, it is known as *mahā-bhāva*. It is very difficult even for Kṛṣṇa's queens to attain the stage of *bhāva*, which can be reached only by the milkmaids of Vṛndāvana. *Mahā-bhāva* is of two types, (i) *rūḍha* and (ii) *adhirūḍha*.

(i) When the *sāttvika-bhāvas* are as consuming as a raging fire, the *mahā-bhāva* is called *rūḍha*. Its characteristics are (a) extreme piquancy, when separation even for a moment becomes unbearable; (b) capacity to stir the hearts of all present, (c) to make a whole age appear as a moment, and a moment appear as an age. (d) extreme depression even in a state of happiness due to a presentiment of malaise, (e) to be oblivious of self and of everything even though not unconscious (*mohady=abhāve'pi*).

(ii) *Adhirūḍha* is that stage, where the passion is no longer raging like a fire; indeed its characteristic is that, it is indescribable, It is of two types, namely (a) *modana* and (b) *mādana*. *Modana* involves the special charm of *uddīpta-sāttvika*, and is felt by only those who belong to Rādhā's *yūtha* (group). In separation, it deepens into *mohana*, which causes a yet greater intensity of *uddīpta sāttvika*. It is characterized by Kṛṣṇa's fainting (consequent to a sense of separation from Rādhā) even when united in the embrace of his queens at Dvārakā; Rādhā's desire for happiness even by undergoing unbearable suffering; spreading sorrow over the whole world; causing weep-

ing of the animals; even, craving death for elemental union, and divine frenzy (*divyonmāda.*) This *mohana* is usually seen only in the Queen of Vṛndāvana, Rādhā.

This divine frenzy or *divyonmāda* is manifested in the forms of *udghūrṇā* or *citra-jalpa*. *Udghūrṇā* means the performance of various irrational acts, such as getting ready to receive Kṛṣṇa, when he is absent, being at Mathurā. *Citra-jalpa* has ten forms namely:

(1) *prajalpa:* contemptuously accusing Kṛṣṇa of incompetence, the motivation being pride, jealousy and impatience;

(2) *parijalpa:* skilfully pointing out Kṛṣṇa's cruelty, dishonesty and inconsistency;

(3) *vijalpa:* sophisticated expression of jealousy and resentment;

(4) *ujjalpa:* declaration of Kṛṣṇa's deception while maintaining her pride but displaying jealousy;

(5) *saṁjalpa:* expressing Kṛṣṇa's ingratitude in a bantering manner;

(6) *avajalpa:* declaring enviously the unworthiness of Kṛṣṇa's love on account of His hard-heartedness, lust and deceptive nature;

(7) *abhijalpa:* hinting the propriety of giving up Kṛṣṇa since He causes sorrow even to the birds;

(8) *ajalpa:* declaration of Kṛṣṇa's crookedness accompanied with gestures which causes mirth to others;

(9) *pratijalpa:* honouring Kṛṣṇa's messenger but declaring the impropriety of going to Him since He is always accompanied with other women;

(10) *sujalpa:* inquiry about Kṛṣṇa, marked by simplicity, humility, forwardness and anxiety;

But the climax of the *bhāvas* is reached in *mādana,* and it shines only in Rādhā.[16]

sarva-bhāv-odgam-ollāsī mādano'yaṁ parāt paraḥ
rājate hlādinī-sāro Rādhāyām eva yaḥ sadā (p. 499, v. 202).

The characteristics of this state are, irrational jealousy, and remniscent contemplation of everything related to Kṛṣṇa. It is indeed a form of *yoga* (*yoga eva bhaved eṣa*) therefore, there can be no separation in this stage of *bhāva*. And in its infinite forms it is eternal. (*nitya-līlā*). (p. 502, v. 208).

In conclusion Rūpa Gosvāmin says:

mādanasya gatiḥ suṣṭhu madanasy-eva durgamā
na nirvaktuṁ bhavec=chakyā ten=āsau munin=āpy= alam.[17]

So Rūpa Gosvāmin begins to describe the various forms of love making (*śṛṅgāra bheda*). This is first divided into two broad divisions, namely, *vipralambha* (separation) and *sambhoga* (union). The importance of *vipralambha* is that without separation union loses its charm; separation indeed is like the basic layer of colour, on which the tints are laid to bring out a better hue.

Vipralambha has four forms, (I) *pūrva-rāga,* (II) *māna,* (III) *prema-vaicittya,* and (IV) *pravāsa.*

I. *Pūrva-rāga* is the stage of courting, when incipient love takes root through seeing, hearing *et cetera.* 'Seeing' here includes actual meeting, or seeing Kṛṣṇa's picture or His vision in a dream. Hearing of Kṛṣṇa is through intermediaries. All the factors which brings about the growth of *madhura rati,* like *abhiyoga* etc. as mentioned above, are also present here. At the onset of love the beautiful maiden is in full bloom of health. But with the progress of deepening emotion she begins to lose her weight, her peace of mind, as also sleep. Then she falls into a miserable stupor, verges towards madness, and loses consciousness and ultimately gives up life. These stages are differently manifested in different types of heroines, namely, *prauḍhā, samañjasā,* and *sādhāraṇī.* The *prauḍhā pūrva-rāga* begins with desire and ends with death; *Samañjasā's* manifestations are slightly different, but here too the *rāga* begins with desire and ends with death. The *sādhāraṇī's rati* begins with desire, and her developing passion reaches its most critical stage in lamentation.

II. *Māna* is an essential ingredient of love making, and marks the stage when the course of progressive intimacy is jolted by a misunderstanding, which may be baseless or may have some apparent basis. If the misunderstanding is baseless it is easily removed, but if there is some basis it may be removed by sweet words, presents, praising oneself, etc.

III. *Prema-vaicittya* is the ever-present mutual fear of losing the dear one, even when the couple are together.

IV. *Pravāsa* is a deteriorative psychosis brought about by separation irrespective of the distance and time; the separation may be deliberate or forced. The ten stages of this condition are, brooding, sleeplessness, anxiety, loss of weight, paleness, lamentations, illness, insanity, unconsciousness and death.

But this separation (*viraha*) only happens in Kṛṣṇa's *prakaṭa* (manifest) *līlā*, which is held simultaneously at Vraja, Dvārakā, and Vṛndāvana; the *aprakaṭa-* (unmanifest) *līlā* is eternal, and in it, there are no pangs of separation.

(1) *Sambhoga* is love making, and can be *mukhya* (real) or *gauṇa* (apparent as in a dream). Real love making may be of short duration (*saṁkṣipta*), or with mixed feeling as in a union after separation (*saṁkīrṇa*), or flourishing (*sampanna*) as after return from a short journey, or the union may be so completely satisfactory as to verge on satiety, which happens after a long absence abroad (*samṛddhimat*).

The last topic of the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* is *rasābhāsa*, simulated *rasa*, which occurs when the quantum of *rasa* is so small, or improperly developed that it is only capable of producing a phantom instead of the reality (*rasavad ābhāsate iti rasābhāsa*). It may be of three types, namely, (1) *upa-rasa*, (2) *apa-rasa* and (3) *anu-rasa*.

(1) In *upa-rasa*, the *sthāyi-bhāvas*, and *vibhāvas* et cetera are improper. *Uparasa* is sub-divided as follows: (i) *śānta* is due to meditation on Brahman from the *advaita* standpoint; (ii) *prīta* is display of impertinence before Kṛṣṇa, ignoring His devotees, and perceiving greater excellence in deities other than the selected deity (*iṣṭa-deva*); (iii) *preyas* is one-sided friendship and contemptuous attitude towards Kṛṣṇa's friends; (iv) *vatsala* is not serving (the child) as much as is permitted by one's means and an excess of pathetic sentiment. (v) *śṛṅgāra* is a union which reflects the passion of only one of the couple; examples of the last type include breaking an agreement, rusticity and audacity etc.

(2) *Anu-rasa* is that in which there is no reference to Kṛṣṇa; it may be simply merriment or wonder etc.

(3) *Apa-rasa* is that in which the *rasa* is developed in persons hostile to Kṛṣṇa and implies merriment et cetera.

1. 'Real (lit. best) *bhakti* is serving Kṛṣṇa whole-heartedly after freeing oneself from all desires and the (effects of) *jñāna-*, *karma-*, and *rāja-yoga*', (*ādi-* here means *rāja-yoga*.) All page reference to the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* is to Dr. Narendra's edition, Delhi University, Delhi, 1963.
2. *Nitya-karma*, that is, the performance of daily rites like *sandhyā* does not produce any merit, but their non-observance results in sin. Here Rūpa Gosvāmin says that the *nitya-karma* recommended by him will produce definite merit. (*Sādhana*, II, iv. p. 24.)
3. It should be noted that for all statements, Rūpa Gosvāmin copiously quotes the scriptures as his authority.
4. More details are found in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. See also *CC*. II. xxii, 125.
5. Nine elements or *aṁgas* of bhakti are mentioned in the *Bh.P.* VII, v. 23. These are:

śravaṇaṁ kīrtanaṁ Viṣṇoḥ smaraṇaṁ pāda-sevanam
arcanaṁ krandanaṁ dāsyaṁ sakhyaṁ ātma-nivedanam.
For details see next chapter.

6. *Sādhu-saṁga* may also mean meditating on the lives and sayings of saintly persons, as has been said in the Gītā (II. 62): *dhyāyato viṣayān puṁsaḥ saṁgās teṣūpajāyate.*
7. These terms and the following are taken from Sanskrit poetics. On *vibhāva* etc. Mammaṭa says: 'What are known in ordinary language as *kāraṇa* (causes), *kārya* (effects) and *sahakārī* (auxillaries) of *rati* (latent emotion of love) etc. are called *vibhāva-* (excitants), *anubhāva-* (ensuants) and *vyabhicāri-bhāva* (variants) when found in drama and poetry; and the latent emotion, the (permanent) *sthāyī-bhāva* is called *rasa.*' Bharata also says: '*vibhāv-ānubhāva-vyabhicāri-saṁyogād rasa-nispattiḥ*'; *Kāvya prakāśa,* IV. 27–8. Here, as will be shown, the *sthāyī-bhāva* in combination with *vibhāva, anubhāva, sāttvika-bhāva,* and *vyabhicāri-* or *sañcāri bhāva* forms the *rasa.*
8. Kṛṣṇa is never meditated upon by the Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavas except in the age groups mentioned here; He is the eternal youth. Rādhā is also usually conceived as sixteen years old; sixteen here may have some mystic significance.
9. The same number of *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* are given in the *Kāvya-prakāśa,* VI. 31–34.
10. For *avadhūta,* see above p. 250.
11. In this connection Rūpa Gosvāmin quotes the following verse (p. 326) usually attributed to Madhusūdana Sarasvatī:
    advaita-vīthī pathikair upāsyāḥ
    svānanda-siṁhāsana-labdha-dīkṣāḥ
    śaṭhena kenāpi vayaṁ haṭhena
    dāsīkṛtā gopa-vadhū-viṭena.
    Rūpa Gosvāmin who was much older than Madhusūdana, ascribes this verse to Vilvamaṁgala; hence it could not have been written by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī as is usually believed.
12. See *Gītā,* XVIII, 51–55.
13. *Ujjvala nīlamaṇi* by Rūpa-Gosvāmin, with the commentaries of Jīva Gosvāmin and Viśvanātha Cakravartin edited by M. M. Pandit Durgaprasad and Wasudev Laxman Sastri Pansikar, Kavyamala series, No. 95. Page reference are to the 1932 edition.
14. For a typical description of *vipralabdhā* see Rabindranath: *āji ye rajanī yāya phirāiba tāya kemane.*
15. 'The body is not adorned at all; yet a glamour shines; that is beauty.'
16. This was also seen in Caitanya.
17. The way of *mādana* is beautiful, that of *madana* difficult; even the sages are incapable of describing them; hence no more need be said about them.' p. 503, v. 209.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE WAY OF BHAKTI

Having discussed the components and stages of *bhakti,* it is now necessary to discuss the expressed meaning of the term or its denotation. This has been done by Jīva Gosvāmin, in his *Bhakti-sandarbha,*[1] where he has shown that Bhagavat is the only and the chief *abhidheya,* or the subject matter of *bhakti;* he has also discussed in detail the primary characteristics of *bhakti* and its modes and functions, as well as certain allied subjects.

Jīva Gosvāmin begins by stating that, though the ultimate reality (*para-tattva*) is known as Brahman, Paramātman, and Bhagavat, His supreme reality (*param-otkarṣa*) is *Bhagavattva* (as Bhagavat). Man, obscured by *māyā,* cannot visualize this reality, wherefore he suffers the bane of mundane existence. But such individuals, who possess certain innate capacity (*saṁskāra*) or who have received special dispensation from great sages, may have immediate realization by listening to the scriptures (*śravaṇ-ārambha-mātreṇa,* 1, p. 4) and do not need any further instruction (*upadeśa*). Still it is necessary for them to understand what is the true meaning of the scriptures, as well as the necessity of spiritual discipline and their implications. (*paratattv-ādy=upadeśasya kim abhidheyaṁ prayojanam ca,* 1, p. 6).

The way of devotion[2] is most desirable, because it attains fulfilment within oneself and by itself (*svacitte svata eva siddha*), while the means prescribed by *Sāṁkhya-Yoga* and *jñāna-vairāgya* (monism) depend on *bhakti* for attaining their end.[3] Therefore one should give up the ways of *karma,*[4] *jñāna,* and *vairāgya* and concentrate on *bhakti.* As has been said in the *Bh.P.* (I. ii. 28-9): 'Vāsudeva is the real essence of the Vedas, the ultimate object of the sacrifices, *yoga* (system), Vedic-rites, knowledge, asceticism, *dharma* (duty), and He is the ultimate goal.'[5]

As *bhakti* is the natural function of a man, he should constantly engage himself in listening to and singing the glories of Kṛṣṇa. Thereby, the knot of egotism will be broken, doubts will disappear, and the results of past actions wither away.[6] *Bhakti* is particularly efficacious for the householders who are tried to their worldly affairs (*gṛha-medhi*). They live just as trees also live; they breathe and so do the bellows; they eat and enjoy sex just as the animals

do (*Bh.P.* II. iii. 18). For such people the only way to salvation is to hear Kṛṣṇa's *līlā-kathā-rasa* (*Bh.P.* XII. iv. 40). The *Kaliyuga* has many defects, but possesses one great advantage, namely, that in this age merely by singing the name of Hari one can attain salvation (*Bh.P.* XII. iii. 49-51).

Desire never ends; satisfaction of one begets another. So Kṛṣṇa leads a man away from all desires to the asylum of His lotus-like feet, just as a mother takes a piece of clay out of her child's mouth and gives him a piece of candy. The devotees of Viṣṇu are the highest among men, be they *brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya, śūdra* or even worse. The way of *bhakti* is not tiresome. One can please Him by offering Him leaves, flowers, fruits or even water; why should therefore one follow other methods which are tedious?

Even Śiva and Brahmā have to be worshipped as *vaiṣṇavas*, that is, these two gods are *vaiṣṇavas.* He who equates Nārāyaṇa with Brahmā or Rudra is an atheist. However, as the *Padma-purāṇa* has said, the worshippers of Sūrya, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu and Śakti will ultimately attain Kṛṣṇa, just as rain water ultimately reaches the sea. They are the same under five designations, just as Devadatta, one man, is the son of someone, the father of another and so on. Still the *vaiṣṇavas* are the best; as has been said in the *Skanda-purāṇa,* that the worshippers of Sūrya, Śiva, Brahmā or Śakti cannot be compared with a devotee of Bhagavat. Even according to the *Gītā* (IX. 23-25) worship of other gods is practically fruitless. But one should never show any disrespect to other gods like Brahmā or Śiva. He who worships Kṛṣṇa and criticizes other gods, loses all merits, including what was acquired before. (*Gautamīya Tantra* xxxiii. 84). Hence it is a great fault to show disrespect to Śiva (*Śiv-āvajñ-ādau mahān eva doṣaḥ*, 106, p. 139), because Śiva is a *mahā-bhāgavata*.

Another great fault is committed by thinking the image of god to be a piece of stone. Indeed a man will certainly go to hell, if he thinks an image of Viṣṇu as a block of stone, or makes distinctions among the *vaiṣṇavas* according to their caste, or if he considers the water in which the feet of Viṣṇu's image or the feet of the *vaiṣṇavas* have been washed to be ordinary water, or thinks that His Name and *mantra* are as good as any other words, or equates Viṣṇu, the lord of lords, with other gods, or indeed places Him even lower.

All these faults are possible in a man who is without knowledge of Īśvara. Hence to induce devotion, some knowledge is necessary, for which again it is essential to worship an image. A man should worship an image so long as he is unable to cognize

in himself He who is immanent in every soul (*Bh.P.* III. xxix. 25). And as the *Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra* says, once having established an image one should worship it throughout life; one should rather give up one's life than the worship of the image.

Jīva Gosvāmin then proceeds to establish the merits of *bhakti*. *Bhakti* is the highest (form of human activity); in support of this statement, Jīva Gosvāmin quotes from the *Gīta* (VI. 46-47). *Bhakti* is eternal; *preman* is capable of melting (the results of) *karma* as fire melts gold. The *Bh.P.* (III. xxviii. 22) says that, 'Śiva has become *śiva* (auspicious) by holding the water flowing from (Viṣṇu's) feet on his head'. This proves the *mahā-nityatva* (supreme eternality) of *bhakti* as also that, it is the *abhidheya*. *Bhakti* is universal; even if a very great sinner pays undivided and exclusive devotion to Kṛṣṇa, he should be considered to be a saint, (that is, he becomes a saint (*Gītā* IX. 30). And a real devotee, even if immersed in wordly affairs, is not overwhelmed (*Bh.P.* XI. xiv. 18). A devotee does not accept liberation like *sālokya* et cetera, even if those are presented to him. (*Bh.P.* IX. iv. 67). As Kṛṣṇa has said in the *Gītā,* (IX. 26) and the *Bh.P.* (X. lxxxi. 4) 'He accepts whatever the devotee offers Him, be it leaves, flowers, fruits or even simple water'. In the Kṛta age, Viṣṇu had to be meditated upon; in the Tretā age, He had to be propitiated by sacrifices; in the Dvāpara by service, but in the Kali age mere Hari-*kīrtana* is equally efficacious. (*Bh.P.* XII. iii. 52). If a man is without Viṣṇu-*bhakti*, what does it avail to him, if he reads the Vedas and the scriptures, goes on a pilgrimage, or engages himself in penances or Vedic sacrifices? *Bhakti* is not only the supreme virtue, it is also the universal purifier. *Karmas* (Vedic sacrifices) are *saguṇa*, but *bhakti* is *nirguṇa*. It is self-revealing, and is extremely blissful. Sins are removed by listening to the recital of His Name.

Bhakti is the end (*sādhya*) as well as the means (*sādhana*). But even the *sādhana-bhakti*, such as listening to the recital of Kṛṣṇa's Name removes sin, however great. But a grave sin is committed if one feels that such recitals are mere eulogies and not His essence; and actually it is the worst fault a *vaiṣṇava* can commit.[7] Such a fault is removed by constant recital of the Name of Kṛṣṇa. But the resulting merit that accrues by the recital of the Name differs from person to person depending on the stage of their spiritual progress (*adhikāra*).[8] Even so, though *bhakti* destroys all obstacles, and results in *preman*, one should not on its strength desire for something else.

The nine elements of *bhakti* are:

śravaṇaṁ kīrtanaṁ Viṣṇoḥ smaraṇaṁ pāda-sevanam
arcanaṁ vandanaṁ dāsyaṁ sakhyam ātma-nivedanam.
(*Bh.P.* VII. v. 23).

Śravaṇa and *kīrtana* mean remembering His Name; *pāda-sevanam* means service (*paricaryā*); *arcanam* means worship (*pūjā*) according to prescribed rites; *vandanam* is obeisance (*namaskāra*); *dāsyam* means to adopt the attitude of His servant; *sakhyam* means to worry about His welfare; *ātma-nivedanam* means complete surrender of the body to Him, like the surrender of cattle to the butcher; one must not even think as to how to maintain oneself. As the *Gopāla-tāpanī Upaniṣad* says:

'bhaktir asya bhajanam tad ih-āmutr-opādhi-nairāśyen=āmusmin manaḥ-kalpanam etad eva ca naiṣkarmyam.'[9]

Therefore, Jīva Gosvāmin says, that, the nine elements of *bhakti* mentioned above are not obligatory, and one element is sufficient if undivided attention is paid to it. Till the stage is reached, when one develops whole-hearted respect, *śravaṇa* etc., that is the *nitya* and the *naimittika karmas* must be performed, indeed breach of these injunctions would be a sin.[10] However, the *nisiddha* (forbidden) *karmas* must not be performed.

This leads on to *śaraṇāgati*, that is complete surrender to Kṛṣṇa which is based on the *Gītā* (XVIII, 66 and IX. 3 and 4).

Defining *bhakti*, Jīva Gosvāmin says:

bhaja ity=esa vai dhātuḥ sevāyāḥ parikīrtitaḥ
tasmāt sevā budhaiḥ proktā bhaktiḥ sādhana-bhūyasī.[11]

This *sevā* must be physical (*kāyika*), verbal (*vācika*) and mental (*mānasika*). This *bhakti* is of three types, namely, *āropa-siddhā*, *saṁga-siddhā* and *svarūpa-siddhā*. *Āropa-siddhā-bhakti* arises when all actions are dedicated to Kṛṣṇa, even if there is no self-evident germinal *bhakti*. *Saṁga-siddhā-bhakti* also has no self-evident germinal *bhakti* (*svato-bhaktitva*); still knowledge and action have been prescribed as components of *bhakti*; for example, when the *Bh.P.* (XI. iii. 22) says that 'one must learn everything from the god-like *guru*', it is an injunction for knowledge. Similar is the injunction, 'divest the mind of all attachments and keep the company of saintly persons' which prescribes action. The result of the combined performance of such injunctions as components of *bhakti* is known as *saṁga-siddhā bhakti*. The third type, is generated by *śravaṇa*, *kīrtana* et cetera, which by their own potency induce *bhakti* even in a congenital idiot or a mad man. This is known as *svarūpa-siddhā-bhakti*.

All these three types again may be *akaitava* (without deceit) or *sakaitava* (deceitful). When *āropa-siddhā-* and *saṁga-siddhā-bhakti* are begotten in persons capable of receiving it, and there is no desire other than *bhakti*, then it is *akaitava*. But if these are practised to produce some result either for self or for someone else, it is *sa-kaitava*. Similarly, in *svarūpa-siddhā-bhakti*, if one concentrates on serving the Bhagavat, mindful only of His glory and depends only on Him, it is *akaitava* or *akiñcanā-bhakti*, otherwise it is *sakaitava*.

Dedication of *karman* is of two types, one is in the form of pleasing the Bhagavat, the other is completely abandoning it. There are three reasons for dedication of *karman*, desire (*kāmanā*), cessation from action (*naiṣkarmya*), and *bhakti*. Pure cessation from action is not possible, as Manu (II. iv) says: 'No action is ever found in this world to be done by a man entirely without desires; whatever a man does is the outcome of desires'. Hence cessation of activity, or its dedication to Bhagavat due to desire implies selfishness, and is but a reflection or a pretence of propitiating Bhagavat. Real propitiation comes through dedication of action due to *bhakti*.

Bhakti can be alloyed with three types of desires, which are called *sa-kāmā*, *kaivalya-kāmā* and *bhakti-mātra-kāmā*. *Sa-kāmā-bhakti* is usually mixed with *karman*, which in the present instance means *dharma*, that is, the performance of Vedic rites. *Kaivalya-kāmā-bhakti* is sometimes alloyed with *karman* and sometimes with *jñāna*, or with both. *Jñāna* here means visualization of identity with Bhagavat. Hence such *bhakti* leads to *mokṣa* (final liberation of the monists).

Even where the goal is pure *bhakti* (*bhakti-mātra-kāmā*) it may be mixed with *karman* which has been described in the *Bh.P.* (XI. xix. 20; 23-4). The *Bh.P.* (III. xxix. 15-19) has also described *karma-jñāna-miśrā-* and *jñāna-miśrā-bhakti-mātra-kāmā-bhakti*, where one has to perform the rites pertaining to a *vaiṣṇava* as laid down in the Pañcarātra texts.[12]

Kevala-svarūpa-siddhā bhakti may be *sa-kāmā* or *kaivalya-kāmā*. Of these two the first (*sa-kāmā*) may be either *tāmasī*, or *rājasī* or *sāttvikī*, where the intention is to harm some person through envy or pride, the *bhakti* that is, worship of Kṛṣṇa, is *tāmasī*; where such worship is done with a desire to improve one's wealth or fame, it is *rājasī*; but where *karman* is dedicated to Bhagavat to rid oneself of its results, or rites are performed because they are enjoined as a duty, it is called *sāttvikī*.

But *bhakti* itself, of which these above-mentioned variants are determinants of its excellence, is *niskāmā* (desireless) and *nirguṇa* (without *guṇas*) and is pure *svarūpa-siddha*, and as has been said before, is also known as *akiñcana*. The exalted state of devotees who are adepts at this type of *bhakti* has been described in the *Bh.P.* (III. xxix.13), where it is said of them only that, 'they prefer to serve me (Kṛṣṇa) than accept *sālokya-*, *sārṣṭi-*, *sārupya-*, or *sāmīpya-mukti* even if offered.

Vaidhī-bhakti has several components, such as *śaraṇāpatti*, *guru-sevā*, *śravaṇa*, *kīrtana* et cetera.

Śaraṇāpatti means taking refuge in Kṛṣṇa; it may be due to a desire to receive protection from the six psychological enemies, namely, *kāma* (desire) *krodha* (anger), *lobha* (greed), *moha* (delusion), *mada* (pride) and *mātsarya* (jealousy). It may also be due to a desire to avert the displeasure of Kṛṣṇa. For this purpose it is necessary (1) to accept only such things or ideas which are favourable to the growth of *bhakti* and reject everything else; (2) to develope the faith that Kṛṣṇa is the protector, and to instal Him as the guardian; (3) to conduct oneself according to the ideal of performing whatever act to which He may appoint one.

Next is *guru-sevā*.[13] About the *guru* (preceptor), it has been said that, *guru* is the visible *mantra;* he is Hari himself; if *guru* is pleased Hari is pleased. Again it has been said that, if Hari is angry, the *guru* can rescue, but if the *guru* is angry none can rescue; therefore by all means please the *guru*. This attitude is supported by the *Nārada-pañcarātra*, *Padma-purāṇa* and the *Bh.P.* (X.lxxx.34). According to the orders of the *guru*, one should serve other *vaiṣṇavas;* but it is a misdemeanour to render such service (in his presence) without his permission. As the *Nārada-pañcarātra* says, he who pays obeisance (*pūjayet*) to others in the *guru's* presence, comes to a bad end and such obeisance does not bear any fruit.

A *guru* should be selected with extreme care, and only such persons should be selected who are very learned. One should not go near a *guru* who gives vent to unjust views. A *guru* who is hostile to the *vaiṣṇavas*, is very arrogant, devoid of the power of discrimination, and is bent on following a wrong way should be discarded.

guror apy-avaliptasya kary-ākaryam ajānataḥ
utpatha-pratipannasya parityāgo vidhīyate

(237 p. 408).

It is also recommended to perform *sevā* to *mahā-bhāgavatas*, that is learned and saintly *vaiṣṇavas*. According to the *Bh.P.* (XI.

xii. 1-2; and XI.xi.47) it includes besides *sādhu-sevā*, also *iṣṭa-pūrta*. Here *iṣṭa* has been explained by Jīva Gosvāmin as *agnihotra*, *daśa-paurṇamāsa*, *cāturmāsya*, *paśu-yāga*, *vaiśvadeva* and *bali-haraṇa*.[14] By *Pūrta* is meant, construction of temples, pleasances, gardens, wells, step-wells, ponds, drinking-water reservoirs, and hospices. However, company of the pious is of the greatest importance, and it is desirable (*ucita*) to receive any *vaiṣṇava* with due greetings. Kṛṣṇa has said: 'A (*brāhmaṇa*) versed in all the four Vedas is not dear to me if he is not devoted to me; but a *caṇḍāla* is dear to me if he is devoted to me. Therefore it is the latter who should be given gifts, and it is from him that gifts should be accepted; (for) he is as worthy of *pūjā* as I am.' Accordingly Durvāsas had paid obeisance to the feet of the *kṣatriya* king Ambarīṣa, though against the latter's wish. But Kṛṣṇa, Uddhava and others always paid obeisance to the *brāhmaṇas*, therefore non-*brāhmaṇas* should not expect for such marks of respect, otherwise, the fault of transgressing the Bhagavat's command is committed. For He has said: 'Do not molest a *brāhmaṇa*, even if he has committed an offence; even if a *brāhmaṇa* beats or curses you, still you should bow down to him.' (*Bh.P.* X.lxiv.41).[15]

The next component of *vaidhī-bhakti* is to listen to the recital of *nāman* (name), *rūpa* (form), *guṇa* (qualities) and *līlā* (anecdotes) of Kṛṣṇa. The importance of listening to the glories of these aspects of the Bhagavat has been stated in the *Bh P.* (VI. xvi. 44; III. ix.5; XII. iii.14-5; II, iii.12). It is also necessary to listen to the names and qualities of the retinues of the Bhagavat. (*Bh.P.* III.xiii.4).

Next comes the *nāma-saṁkīrtana* which includes the singing not only of the Name, but of the form, qualities and the *līlā* of the Bhagavat. As usual verses from the *Bh.P.* are quoted to show the excellence of such *saṁkīrtanas*,[16] and a verse is quoted which states that a man loses merit and goes to hell, if he does not leave the place where the *nāman* of Bhagavat is being vilified. Commenting on this, Jīva Gosvāmin says that this direction is meant for those who are unable to prevent vilification; but the duty of a man, who is capable of it, is to severe the tongue of the vilifier or, give up his life in the attempt. (p. 265, 453)[16a].

In the *kīrtana*, one should declare one's lowliness as well as one's desired objective, and recite or sing devotional hymns. Among the hymns, those which are concerned with the *nāman* of Bhagavat are the best. When the mind becomes pure due to *śaraṇāgati* et cetera, *nāma-kīrtana* becomes the *sādhanā* (devotional and spiritual exercise) for those seeking liberation; therefore, instead of giving up *nāma-kīrtana*, one should have recourse to *smaraṇa* which means mental investigation (*manas-ānusandhānam*); but this depends on

the purity of heart. *Smaraṇa* leads to *dhāraṇā, dhāranā* to *dhyāna, dhyāna* to *dhruvānusmṛti, dhruvānusmṛti* to *samādhi.*

Smarana which means any inquiry, (*anusandhāna*), is of five types, depending on the subject, namely, *nāman, guṇa, parikara, sevā,* and *līlā.* Concentration of mind on any of these in general is retention (*sarvataś cittam ākṛṣya sāmāny-ākareṇa mano-dhāraṇaṁ dhāraṇā*). To concentrate on a particular form et cetera is meditation (*viśeṣato rūp-ādi-cintanaṁ dhyānam*). When the flow is uninterrupted like flowing nectar, it is called everlasting memory (*amṛta-dhārā-vad avicchinnaṁ tad dhruv-ānusmṛtiḥ*). When only the object of meditation is visualized (and nothing else) it is called trance (*dhyeya-mātra-sphūranaṁ samādhir iti*). (277, pp. 475-76).

Dhruv-ānusmṛti et cetera has been shown by Rāmānuja in his commentary on *Br.S.* I.i.1. (*eṣ-aiva Śrī-Rāmānuja-bhagavat-pādaiḥ prathama-sūtre darśitāsti*; 278; p. 477). It is different from the *asamprajñāta Brahma-samādhi;* which is usually meant for the *śānta-bhaktas.*

Pāda-sevā includes seeing, touching and circumambulating the image, following an image in a procession, bathing in the Ganges and pilgrimages to Puri and other holy places like Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, Dvārakā et cetera.

About the necessity of worshipping images, Jīva Gosvāmin adopts an ambivalent position. He states that according to Bhāgavatism, it is not necessary to worship images (*arcanā-mārga*) as it is in the Pañcarātra system; because even without worshipping images, the goal (*puruṣārtha*) can be reached by *śaraṇāpatti* et cetera; still those who follow Nārada et cetera (that is the Bhāgavatas) want to establish a relation with Śrī-Bhagavat by initiation through the grace of the *guru.* They should certainly get themselves initiated and perform the prescribed rites.

The *paricaryā-mārga* (that is *arcanā-mārga*) is expensive (for mendicants), hence it is intended for house-holders, for whom indeed it is the superior way. Just as by watering the branches and the leaves, one waters the roots, of the tree also, similarly by *devatā-yāga* (worshipping images), and *arcanā* (of household deities), Bhagavat is worshipped); and non-performance of such worship is a grave fault. If an initiated person fails to perform the prescribed rites, he goes to hell.

Arcanā-mārga is subject to injunctions (*vidhi*); prior initiation is essential; then the procedures laid down in the scriptures have to be learnt. Just as a *dvija* does not acquire the right to study the Vedas unless he has performed the *upanayana* ceremony, similarly

an uninitiated man has no right to (repeat a) *mantra* or worship deities.

But the word containing the name of the Bhagavat as its core is *mantra* (*nanu Bhagavan-nām-ātmakā eva mantrāḥ*). Moreover, the *mantra* is qualified by words like *namaḥ* and imbued with particular energy derived from Bhagavat and the *ṛṣis*, and it brings about the cognition of relationship between the Bhagavat and the devotee. The *nāman* of Bhagavat without any other aid can beget even the supreme result like *parama-puruṣārtha;* and *mantra* is more powerful than *nāman;* hence what is the necessity of initiation?

Having thus stated the objections, Jīva Gosvāmin replies that, essentially initiation is not necessary (*yady-api svarupato n=āsti*) but there are people who have an aptitude for repulsive acts; for them and for those with wandering mind, the illustrious seers have sometime or the other (*kvacit kvacit*) advised (the adoption of) *arcanā-mārga* as aid to compressing the mind. Hence according to the scriptures, transgression of such injunctions involved expiations. Thus the irreconciliation of the two views (that is Bhāgavatism and Pañcaratra) is removed; one (view) does not depend on the other (*tata ubhayam api n=āsamañjasam iti tatra tad apekṣā n=āsti.* 280, pp. 487-99).

Jīva Gosvāmin then quotes several verses from various texts, namely, *Rāmārcanacandrikā, Tantra* (unnamed) *Mantradeva-prakāśikā* and the *Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā*, to show the merits of *Rāma-mantra, Saura-mantra, Narasiṁha-mantra*, and the best of all, *Gopāla-mantra.* He then quotes the following verse from the *Brahma-yāmala:*

śruti-smṛti-purāṇ-ādi-pañcarātra-vidhiṁ vinā
aikāntiki Harer-bhaktir utpātāyaiva kalpate.[17]

It is remarkable that Jīva Gosvāmin does not quote any authority to affect a reconciliation between Bhāgavatism and Pañcarātra system of worship. His statement that this has been prescribed by *Śrīmad-ṛṣi-prabhṛti* is, to say the least, ambiguous. Possibly he was following the tradition established by his uncles or by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, whose work he claims to complete in the opening verse of the *Bhakti-sandarbha.* Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was a southerner, and actually Jīva Gosvāmin in the opening verse refers to him as Dakṣinātya Bhaṭṭa; hence it is possible that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa introduced this aspect of Pañcarātra system to Gauḍīya-vaisnavism either directly or borrowed it from the *Śrī-vaiṣṇava* sect.

Jīva Gosvāmin next proceeds to describe *arcanā*, of which there are two types, namely, *kevala* and *karma-miśra.* The description of

kevala arcanā is vague, and seems to be some simple form of worship. The *karma-miśra arcanā* is prescribed as suitable for ideal householders who want to set an example to others; they should perform all the customary rites.

It is also necessary to worship the *pīṭhāvaraṇa,* deities like Viṣvaksena Gaṇeśa and Durgā; the last two, however, must be distinguished from the homonymous deities of *Māyā-śakti.* This Gaṇeśa and Durgā are evolved from the *svarūpa-śakti* of the Bhagavat; their identity has been established in the *Gautamīyakalpa* thus: *'yah Kṛṣṇah s=aiva Durgā syād yā DurgāKṛṣṇa eva saḥ.'*

Here Jīva Gosvāmin follows the *Padma-purāṇa,* which mentions various *āvarana-devatās* and prescribes their worship, while forbidding the worship of non-Vedic gods, and separate worship of Vedic gods.

tasmād avaidikānām ca devānām arcanaṁ tyajet
svatantra-pūjanaṁ yac=ca vaidikānām api tyajet.
(285, p. 495)

On the same authority the worship of the *bhūtas* has been prohibited.

In the remaining part of the *Bhakti-sandarbha,* Jīva Gosvāmin has dealt briefly with the topic of ritual worship. This topic, however, has been very elaborately dealt with by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, mentioned above, one of the six Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins,* in his work *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa,* the most important *smṛti* work of the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas.*

The scope and object of this work will be evident from the following list of the subject-matter distributed in its twenty chapters or *vilāsas:* (I) The *guru,* disciple and *mantra;* (II) *dīkṣā* (initiation; (III-IV) The daily rites; (V-VI) Daily morning rites; (VII) The offering of flowers, leaves etc. in worship; (VIII) The use of incense, light, *naivedya* etc. and other rituals; (IX) Description of the greatness of *caranodaka, tulasī* plant etc; midday rites; *vaiṣṇava śrāddha* rites, and rules regarding the partaking of *naivedya* (food offered to the deity); (X) The characteristics of a *vaiṣṇava* and his religious practices; (XI) The evening rites, rules of pious conduct, and the efficacy of the sacred Name and of *bhakti;* (XII) Fortnightly fasts and observances; (XIII) Rites and duties connected therewith; (XIV-XVI) monthly observances for the year including festivals; (XVII) *puraścaraṇa;* (XVIII-XIX) The construction of images; (XX) The construction of temples.

It is neither necessary nor possible to give here a summary of this voluminous work, and it does not appear that all the injunctions

of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa have been scrupulously followed by the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas*. For example, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa definitely lays down, that a non-*brāhmaṇa* must not initiate a *brāhmana*. (*kṣatra-viṭ-śūdra-jātīyaḥ prātilomyaṁ na dīkṣayet*, I. 52). Though this injunction is usually followed, there are instances where a non-*brāhmaṇa* like Narahari Das (a *vaidya*), Narottama Das (a *kāyastha*) and Syāmānanda (a *sadgopa*) are said to have initiated *brāhmaṇas*.

The necessity of a *guru* is taken for granted, and directions are given by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa according to the *Nārada-pañcarātra*. In uttering the name of the *guru*, one must prefix it by *om śrī* and suffix it by the phrase *Viṣṇu-pāda* (I.95). This injunction also is not followed by the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas*, and Gopāls Bhaṭṭa does not mention that the Guru is a *mañjarī*, who can lead the disciple up to the *yūtheśvarī*. Then Gopāla Bhaṭṭa gives three *mantras* the first of eight syllables, (i.e. *om namo Nārāyaṇāya*). The second of twelve syllables, (i.e. *om namo bhagavate Nārāyaṇāya*) and the third of eighteen syllables, (i.e. *klīm Kṛṣṇāya Govindāya gopī-jana-vallabhāya svāhā*. The first two are common *vaiṣṇava mantras*, which the third is used by Vallabhācārya's sect).

In the fifth *vilāsa*, (450) Gopāla Bhaṭṭa quotes the *Padma-purāṇa*, which states that even women and *śūdras* are entitled to worship a *śālagrāma*. This statement is repeated in Verse 452. Here again the practice of the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* differ, for though Caitanya gave his *śālagrāma* to Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin, a *kāyastha*, non-*bhrāhmaṇas* and females are not allowed to worship *śālagrāma*. But what is most surprising is that while Gopāla Bhaṭṭa lays down rules for the construction of the images of Lakṣmī, Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Rukmiṇī, and other forms of the deity including Buddha,[18] he does not give any direction for the construction of the images of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

There is no doubt, however, that the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* regard the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* as an authoritative guide or text for *vaidhi-bhakti* and the work is quoted by name in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*.

2

Though the Gosvāmins have extolled the way of *bhakti*, they have not denied the efficacy of other ways of devotion. In fact, Jīva Gosvāmin's attempt was not to denounce *karma* and *jñāna* as means of salvation, but to prove the superiority of *bhakti* over them. Jīva Gosvāmin was not overstating his case in the sense that, it was the prevalent attitude towards *bhakti*. For example, the Paramāra Emperor Bhoja (c.A.D. 1000-1055) commenting on the *Yoga-sūtra* I.24 wrote: '*prakṛti-puruṣa-saṁyoga-viyogayor īśvar-*

ecchā-vyatireken-ānupapatteḥ'. This is fundamentally opposed to the main trend of *Yoga*, and most probably indicates the influence of *bhakti* even in the 11th century. The effect of *bhakti*, on Jīva Gosvāmin's great contemporary monist, and probably his teacher, namely, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī is evident in the latter's *Haribhakti-rasāyana* and the commentary on the *Gītā*. And even Śaṁkara at the end of his commentary on the *Gītā* (XVIII, 51 says: *tasmād jñāne yatno na kartavyaḥ kiṁ tu anātma-buddhi-nivṛttau eva; tasmād jñana-niṣṭhā susampādyā*. The implications of this sentence can easily be turned to suit Jīva Gosvāmin's contention.

Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism, however, does not deny *jñāna* as a means of salvation. As Jīva Gosvāmin himself says: *'kevalaṁ jñānaṁ Brahm=eti śabdyate; antaryāmitva-maya-māyā-śakti-pracura-cic-chakty-aṁśa-viśiṣṭaṁ Paramātm=eti; paripūrṇa-sarva-śakti-viśiṣṭam Bhagavān iti.'* (7, pp. 16-17).[19] Here he quotes, *Bh.P.* I. ii. 12, according to which *bhakti* with *jñāna* and *vairāgya* backed with the knowledge of scriptures heard from a teacher, leads to self-realization. Later (43, p. 51) he quotes another verse from the *Bh.P.* (III. v. 4) which shows that *bhakti* may lead to the acquisition of *jñāna*. Jīva Gosvāmin, however, gives little value to *kevala-jñāna* which does not produce *rati* (*Bh.P.* I. ii. 8) and states that when *jñāna* is qualified as *'kevala-jñāna'* it indicates *nivṛtti-mātra-lakṣaṇam*, and its result is temporary. (5, p. 13). He has also stated that *nivṛtti-mātra lakṣaṇa* is *vaimukhya*, or contra-indication to Bhagavat.

This was also told to Sanātana Gosvāmin by Caitanya as related in the *CC* (II. xxiv, 57-96). According to Caitanya, there are two broad divisions among the followers of *jñana-mārga*, namely, *kevala-Brahmopāsaka* and *mokṣākāṁkṣī*. The *kevala-Brahmopāsakas* are of three types, namely, *sādhakas, Brahma-maya* and *prāpta-Brahma-laya*, but in *kevala-jñāna* there is no *mukti* without *bhakti*, and those who also practise *bhakti* ultimately reach the stage of *prāpta-Brahma-laya*. The *mokṣākaṁkṣī jñanīs* are of three types namely, *mumukṣu, jīvanmukta,*and *prāptasvarūpa*. The *mumukṣu* usually manages to come into contact with sages who teach them Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*, which leads to *mukti*. *Jīvan-muktas are* of two types, the first is devoted to Kṛṣṇa, and worship Him, the other type, *śuṣka-jñānī*, goes under. The *prāpta-svarūpas* get a divine body through *bhakti* and become devoted to Kṛṣṇa.

Therefore Jīva Gosvāmin has rightly presented the views of the Master, when he concludes: *'tad evaṁ jñanasya bhakti-saṁsargaṁ vinā karmaṇaś ca tad upapādakatvaṁ vinā vyarthatvaṁ vyaktam.'*[20] (23, p. 33).

But later after quoting many more passages from the scriptures he states:

'*samāna-prāpyayor api pathor ekasya durgamatva-kathanen=ānyasy=ābhidheyatvaṁ svata eva sidhyati.*'[21] (48, p. 54).

As for the *rāja-yogins*, Jīva, Gosvāmin says that, to practise the ways prescribed by this *mārga*, namely suspension of mental function, is an aberration so far as *bhakti* is concerned, but the mind of those who follow the pure way of *bhakti* will stop functioning by itself. Later (103, p. 121) Jīva Gosvāmin has quoted the *Bh.P.* X; li. 41 to prove his point.

In a later section, Jīva Gosvāmin takes up question of personal bent or suitability for *jñāna*, *karma* or *bhakti* (*jñāna-karma-bhakti-yogānām adhikāriṇaḥ* (171, p. 261). This is almost what Śaṁkara said on *Br.S.* 1. i. 11 (*Śrutatvāc=ca*):

'*evam ekam api Brahma-āpekṣit-opādhi-sambandhaṁ nirast-opādhi-sambandham c-opāsyatvena jñeyatvena ca vedānteṣ-ūpadiśyata.*[22]

Jīva Gosvāmin, however, relies on *Bh.P.* (XII. xx. 7-8) which states that *jñāna-yoga* is meant for those who have no attachment, either for mundane or celestial happiness, while *karma-yoga* is meant for those who have such desires, and *bhakti-yoga* is meant for those who have an inherent respect for Kṛṣṇa and is neither too much attached nor too much non-attached. Then another verse from the *Bh.P.* (XI. xx. 31) is quoted which declares that *jñāna* and *vairāgya* are not usually *śreyas*. (171, p. 263).

Then after discussing a few other topics extolling the merits of *bhakti*, Jīva Gosvāmin begins a section titled *karmaṇo'pi Bhagavat sāmmukhya-rūpatvam* (174, p. 281). Here he again quotes the *Bh.P.* (XI. xx. 10-11) which states that properly performed *karman* leads either to pure *jñāna* or to *bhakti*. He also quotes part of another verse (*Bh.P.* XI. xxi. 2) which asserts: '*sve sve' dhikāre yā niṣṭhā sa guṇaḥ parikīrtitaḥ.*[23] (175, p. 282). In the next section entitled '*sāmmukhya-trayam*' (175, p. 284) Jīva Gosvāmin quotes the following verse from the *Bh.P.* (III. xxxii. 267:

jñānamātraṁ paraṁ Brahma Paramātm-eśvaraḥ pumān
dṛśy=ādibhiḥ pṛthak-bhāvair Bhagavān eka iyate.[24]

But the next section is entitled *jñāna-karmaṇos tiraskāraḥ.*[25] (176, p. 285). Here on the basis of *Bh.P.* II. ii. 8, I. vii. 4 and X. xiv. 4, he has proved that not only *bhakti-yoga* is superior but *jñāna-yoga* is condemned (*jñānam api nyakkṛtam*). Then after devoting several sections to eulogizing *bhakti*, Jīva Gosvāmin begins a section entitled: *dvividhāḥ santaḥ jñāna-siddhā bhakti- siddhāś ca.* (186, p. 307).[26] After discussing *Bh.P.* V. v. 2-3, which supports such a view, Jīva Gosvāmin concludes: *ubhayor mahattvam ca mahā-*

jñānitvān-mahā-bhāgavatatvāc ca, na tu dvayoḥ sāmy-ābhiprāyeṇa[27] (186, p. 308).

Thus ultimately Jīva Gosvāmin's conclusion is that *bhakti-yoga* is superior to *jñāna-yoga*. This is hardly surprising; what is significant, however, is his admission that *jñāna-yoga* and *karma-yoga* are also means of salvation and if properly performed may lead to the highest form of bliss, namely *bhakti*. This was also Caitanya's teaching.

It would possibly be claiming too much to say that the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas*, at least the Vṛndāvana-*gosvāmins* attempted a syncretization of the different schools of *Vedānta*. There is no doubt, however, that Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism adopted a healthy tolerent attitude towards all theistic sects.

1. *Bhakti-sandarbha* of Jīva Gosvāmin. We have used here the Calcutta University edition (1962) edited by R. G. Gosvami and K. G. Gosvami, and page references are to this edition; the first figures refer to the section.
2. Devotion here invariably means devotion to Kṛṣṇa.
3. See below p. 336.
4. *Karma* means performance of vedic rites; it is rejected by all schools of Vedānta, because it involves recurring births and deaths.
5. See also *Bh.P.* v. 15-6.
6. As usual, Jīva Gosvāmin has quoted profusely from the scriptures to prove his points; here he is quoting from the *Bh.P.* I, ii, 14, and I. ii. 21. All the quotations from the *Bh.P.* in this chapter are taken from the *Bhakti-sandarbha*. where Jīva Gosvāmin has used them, sometimes without any comment, but our references are to the Gītā Press edition, which sometimes differ from the references given in the text,
7. According to Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism, there is no difference between the *nāman* and the *nāmin*, that is Kṛṣṇa and His Name are identical and must be held in equal respect. As Caitanya said, the *nāman*, *vigraha* and the *sva-rūpa* are identical. *CC*. II. xvii. 126-28. For the *nāmāparādhas*, see above.
8. This is a rare admission of *adhikāri-bheda* in Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism. 163, p. 247.
9. The reference given here presumably by the editors is *Purva* 15. The quotation however differs from the text published from Adyar, which is as follows: *'kim āho tad bhajanam iti praśn-ottaram āha:-Bhaktir asy-eti; dāso'haṁ so'haṁ iti vā ananya-bhāvāpann-eyaṁ bhaktiḥ; "svarūpa anusandhānaṁ bhaktir ity-abhidhīyate" iti smṛteh; bhajana-sādhanam āha:-tad iti; evaṁ bhajanam eva naiskarmya jñānam ity-artha; bhajan-opāyam āha Kṛṣṇam iti.*
   Devotion unto him, (Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa), constitutes worship. That, again, is the intense application of the mind, completely detached from all concern with this world or the other world, (by exclusively assuming the attitude) "I am the devoted servant (of the Paramātman)", or "I am (that Paramāman)" and becoming absorbed therein.'
   (*The Vaishnava-Upanishads*, Ed. by A. M. Shastri, Adyar, 1923, p. 46).
   If the reading of the printed edition is correct, the *Gopāla-tāpanī* has attempted to syncretize monism with Vaiṣṇavism.
10. The same views were expressed by Caitanya ao Sanātana Gosvāmin in CC. II. xxii. 80-1.
11. 'The well-known meaning of the root *bhaj* is *sevā* (service); hence the best of *sādhanas*, *bhakti*, has been proclaimed by the wise to be *sevā*'. (215, p. 362).
12. This is the only instance where Pañcarātra rites are prescribed by Jīvā Gosvāmin. In discussing this topic, he states that the result of such performance is *dhruv-ānusmṛti*, which, as we shall see presently, he derived from Rāmānuja on *Br.S.* I. i. 1. Jīva Gosvāmin apparently was trying to include all known forms of *vaiṣṇava* worship in his recommendations.
13. It is very difficult to translate the word *'sevā'*; it includes service, homage and everything which can display devotion, love and attachment.
14. These are all well-known Vedic sacrifices, and Jīva Gosvāmin here is referring

to *Bh.P.* VII. xv.. 48-9; but the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* do not perform these rites, and in any *paśu yāga* is unthinkable in connection with a *vaiṣṇava*.

15. These passages show, that, Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism was not intended to effect a social revolution. Sholars who are of the opinion that Caitanya brought about a social revolution, should point out any instance from his life where he dined with or ate food cooked by a non-*brāhmaṇa*. Religious reformation is a different thing altogether, and that is what Caitanya effected, without causing any imbalance to the social structure.

16. For *nāman*, *Bh.P.* XI.ii. 40; VI.ii. 11; II.i. 8-10; II.i. 11; for *rūpa*, *Bh.P.* XI. xxx. 3; for *guṇa*, *Bh.P.* I.v. 22; for *līlā*, *Bh.P.* II.viii. 4; XII.xii. 48-49. Other Purāṇas like the *Skanda* are also quoted.

16a. The reference given in the text to the verse quoted here is *Bh.P.* X. xvi. 26, but we could not trace the verse, and it is possible that the quotation is from the *Skanda-purāṇa* from which Jīva Gosvāmin has quoted other verses in this connection.

17. 'Intense devotion to Hari bereft of the injunctions laid down in the *Śrutis. Smṛtis. purāṇas* and *Pañcarātra* texts, seems to be a nuisance.' p. 489. The same verse is quoted by Rūpa Gosvāmin in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*. I. ii. 73, p. 47.

18. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa describes Buddha as:

kāṣāya vastra-sambītaḥ skandha-saṁsakta-cīvaraḥ
padmāsanastho dvi-bhujo dhyāyī Buddhaḥ prakīrtitaḥ
(*Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, XVIII, 182).

In the same chapter, under *Buddhalakṣaṇam* (246-47) is stated:

daśa-tālam tathā Buddhaṁ padmāsana-gataṁ harim
pralamba-śravaṇaṁ kuryāc cīvar-ālaṁkṛtaṁ tathā
maṇi-nābhaṁ samādhisthaṁ padmāsyaṁ padma-locanam
samādhisth-ottāna-pāṇiṁ yoga-dṛṣṭi-samanvitam
sthāpayed-rūpa-kāmas tu pit-eva jagataḥ sthitam.

Buddha is recognized as an avatāra of Kṛṣṇa in the *Gīta-Govinda*, which the Gauḍīya-*vaiṣṇavas* treat almost as a scripture, still it is difficult to reconcile these directions for constructing an image of Buddha with the statement of Kṛṣṇa-dās Kavirāj: *yadyapi asambhāṣya Baudh-ayukta dekhite* ('though a Buddhist should not be spoken to, and should not be looked at', CC. II. ix. 42). For a discussion of *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa's* author see S. K. De op. cit. pp. 136-43.

19. 'Pure knowledge of the monists is known as Brahman; when He indwells with a large quantity of *māyā-śakti* and some amount of *cit-śakti*, He is known as the Paramātman (of the *yogins*); Bhagavat is replete with all the *Śaktis*.'

20. 'Therefore *jñāna* without *bhakti* and *karman* which does not beget *bhakti* are useless.

21. 'By saying that, of the two routes which lead to the same goal one is difficult, its (*bhakti's*) primary position (*abhidheyatva*) is established.

22. 'Vedānta-texts teach, on the one hand Brahman as connected with limiting conditions and forming an object of devotion, and on the other hand, as being free from the connexion with such a condition and constituting an object of knowledge.' Tr. by G. Thibaut.

It is remarkable that even Locana-dāsa says that first, one has to gain knowledge and then comes devotion, and thereafter, that is with the help of *jñāna* and *bhakti* comes non-attachment.

āge jñān hayā tabe upajaye bhakti
tabe se janame sarva-bhoger virakti

Caitanya-maṁgala, 3rd ed. p. 113. This, however, is a translation of Murāri, II, viii, 16 which is as follows:

ādau jñānaṁ bhavet puṁsaḥ
tato bhaktir Harau bhavet
tato viraktir bhogeṣu
bhaved eva kramād iha

23. 'Faith in the *niṣṭhā* (i.e. *jñāna-*, *karma-*, *rāja-*, or *bhakti-mārga*) for which one is competent is known to be a virtue.' See *Gītā*, III. 3, and XVII, 1.

24. 'Bhagavat as pure and absolute knowledge is known as Brahman, also as Paramātman and Īśvara; although one, He appears as the spectacle, spectator and the instruments of vision', said by Kapila to his mother Devahuti.

25. 'Scolding of *jñāna* and *karman*.'

26. 'There are two types of sādhus, one accomplished in *jñāna*, the other in *bhakti*.'

27. 'Both have been called great, one due to his great knowledge, the other due to his great devotion; the intention, however is not to equate them'.

APPENDIX

Note on Gaurāṁga-Vijaya

Through inadvertance we failed to notice the *Gaurāṁga-vijaya* of Cūḍāmaṇi-dāsa in Chapter VII. This is an early biography, and the author claims to be the disciple of Dhanañjaya, Nityānanda's disciple, and one verse (p. 45) taken literally would indicate that he got some of his materials from Nityānanda himself, as the editor Dr. S. Sen has pointed out. The present edition, is based on a single and incomplete MS. This work is not mentioned by any later biographer, and from the fact that no other MS. has been discovered up to now, indicate that the work was not considered satisfactory, and for obvious reasons. Cūḍāmaṇi contradicts Vṛndāvana-dās on fundamentals. For example, according to Cūḍāmaṇi, Caitanya was a devotee of Kṛṣṇa from his childhood, and so was Nityānanda, who came to meet Caitanya while the latter was yet a student. Then Nityānanda requested him to start his universal missionary work, to which Caitanya replied that he wanted to pursue his studies for a little while more till he obtained his degree (*katho divasek āmi paḍibāre cāi // ihār bhitare mor sopādi haiba*, p. 93). According to Cūḍāmaṇi, at this time Śrīvās and his wife were fervent devotees of Caitanya, and when Caitanya went to Gaya he was accompanied among others by Gadādhar, Vakreśvar, Mukunda and Śrīvās (p. 108). But even more wonderful is that Caitanya took six to seven days to travel from Gaya to Navadvīpa (p. 109).

There are some indications that either Cūḍāmaṇi was mixing up events, or the copyist was grievously at fault and possibly interpolated. For example Caitanya's horoscope is described first (p. 14, f. 28a) and his birth is described later (p. 16, f. 30b). The description of Nityānanda's first journey to Navadvīpa is palpably wrong, but it conforms to the descriptions of his later travels. Thus the *Gaurāṁga-vijaya* in its present form is useless as a source material and has not been used in the present work.

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CONTENTS

I. List of abbreviations
1. *Mahābhārata*
2. *Bhagavad-Gītā*
3. *Upaniṣads*
4. *Brahma-sūtra*
5. Pañcarātra, Vaikhānasa etc.
6. Purāṇas
7. Advaita
8. Viśiṣṭādvaita
9. Dvaitādvaita
10. Dvaita
11. Śuddhādvaita
12. Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇavism
    I. Caitanya
    II. Philosophy and religion
13. Vaiṣṇavism
14. Religion and Philosophy (General)
15. History
16. Rāma-Kṛṣṇa-Vivekānanda.

List of Abbreviations

ABORI — *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*

Adyar — Adyar Library and Research Centre, Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.

AIOC — *Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Congress.*

A.S.S. — Anandasrama Sanskrit Series, Poona.

B.C. Law — *B.C. Law Volume*, Ed. D. R. Bhandarkar and others, Part I, Calcutta, The Indian Research Institute, 1945.

BDC — *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute.*

Bhārata Kaumudī (Part I) — *Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji*, Allahabad, Indian Press Ltd., 1945.

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B.I. — Bibliotheca Indica Series published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

B.O.R.I	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
B.S.S.	Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series.
B.U.S.	Book University Series, B.V.B.
B.V.	*Bhāratīya Vidyā.*
B.V.B.	Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay.
C.U.	Calcutta University.
Ch.S.S.	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Banaras.
DVPC	*MM. Prof. D. V. Potdar Commemoration volume*, Poona, 1950.
GKAG	*Gopīnāth Kavirāj Abhinandana-Grantha*, Lucknow, Akhil Bhāratīya Saṁskṛta Pariṣad, 1967.
G.O.S.	Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda.
H.O.S.	Harvard Oriental Series.
IA	*Indian Antiquary.*
IC	*Indian Culture.*
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
Indica	*The Indian Historical Research Institute, Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume*, Bombay, St. Xavier's College, 1953.
IPC	*Indian Philosophy and Culture*, Vṛndāvana.
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JAS	*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta.
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
JGJRI	*Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute.*
JIH	*Journal of Indian History.*
JSVOI	Journal of Śrī Veṁkaṭeśvara Oriental Institute.
JUB	*Journal of the University of Bombay.*
Kane-61	*A Volume of Studies in Indology Presented to Prof. P. V. Kane on his 61st Birthday*, Ed: by S. M. Katre & P. K. Gode, Poona Oriental Book Agency.
KBPC	*Commemorative Essays Presented to Prof. K. B. Pathak*, Poona, B.O.R.I. 1934.
MHC	*Prof. M. Hiriyanna Commemoration Volume*, Mysore, 1952.
MIFV	*Munshi Indological Felicitation Volume*, B.V. (1960-61).
M.V.P	Madhva Vilās Pustakālaya, Kumbakonam.
NIA.	*New Indian Antiquary.*
N.S.P	Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay.
O.U.P.	Oxford University Press.
R.P.	Radharaman Press, Murshidabad, all the publications of this Press are in Bengali character.
S.B.E.	Sacred Books of the East.
S.B.H.	Sacred Books of the Hindus, published by the Panini Office, Allahabad.

TCV — *A Volume of Eastern Indian Studies presented to Prof. E. W. Thomas*, Bombay.

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